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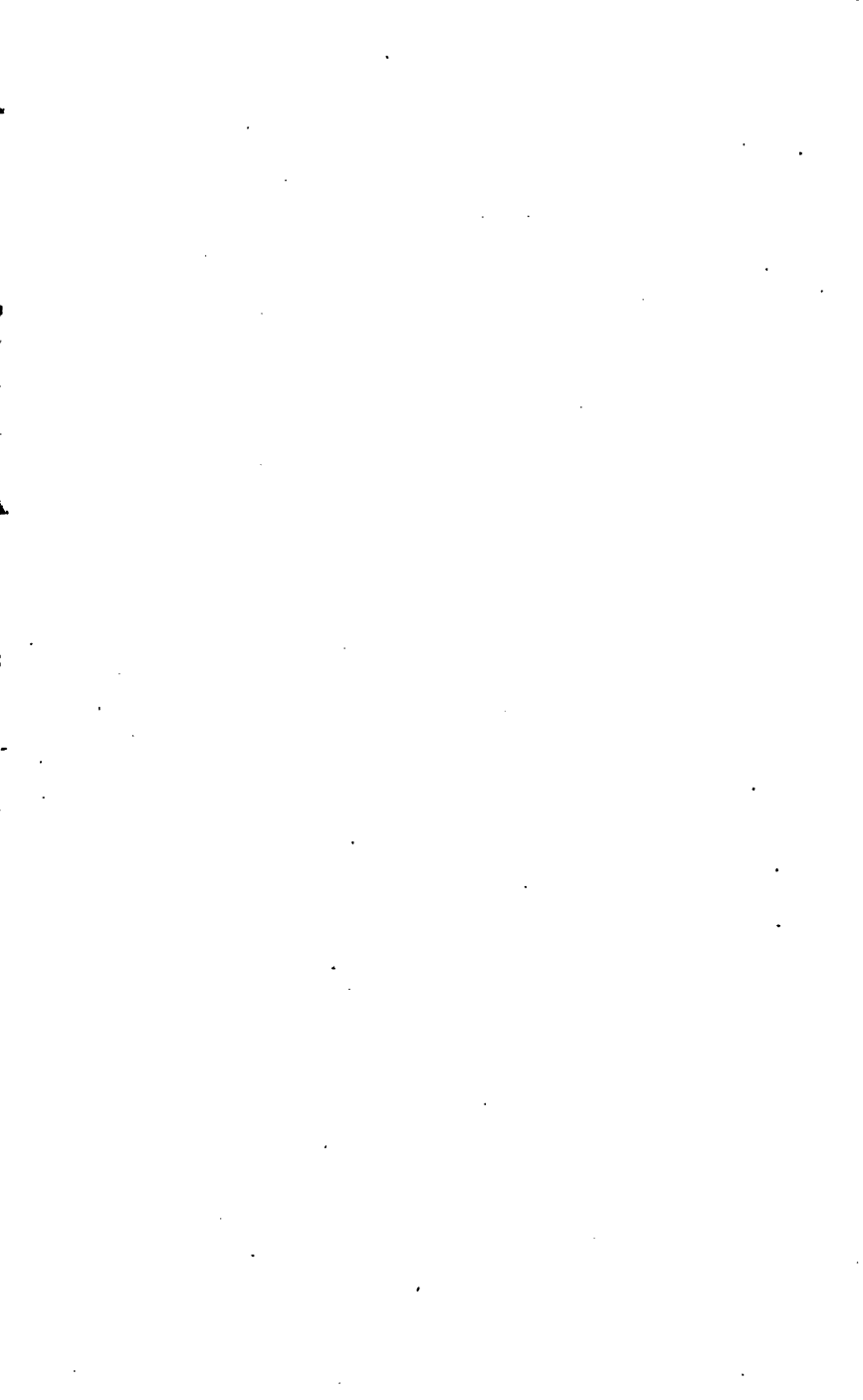
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**EDWARD HARGREAVES.**

THE  
THREE COLONIES  
OF  
A U S T R A L I A :

NEW SOUTH WALES, VICTORIA,  
SOUTH AUSTRALIA;

THEIR PASTURES, COPPER MINES, & GOLD FIELDS.

BY  
SAMUEL SIDNEY,  
AUTHOR OF "THE AUSTRALIAN HAND BOOK," ETC.

With Engravings.

NEW YORK:  
C. M. SAXTON, 25 PARK ROW.

1859. 1859



## ADVERTISEMENT, BY THE AMERICAN PUBLISHERS.

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THE discovery of immense, and apparently exhaustless gold-fields in Australia, has produced a magical effect upon the restless enterprise of our people; and thousands upon thousands are flocking to the far-off Island Continent. Hitherto little has been known in this country of that immense and interesting region — embracing an area larger than the whole of Europe — and the importance with which it has become suddenly invested, has created a general and just desire for reliable information respecting it.

The sources of such information are not as fully open to American as to English writers; and we have therefore chosen to avail ourselves of a recent, and very full and accurate work from the latter source.

THE THREE COLONIES OF AUSTRALIA, just prepared by Samuel Sidney, Esq., who had access to the most reliable data, furnishes information equally opportune, interesting and authentic, upon almost every topic which may become the subject of legitimate inquiry.

To the emigrant, the work will, it is believed, furnish a safe and full guide; and, to those desiring information respecting one of the most interesting regions of the globe, abundant satisfaction.



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# CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS

## IN

### THE HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA.

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1770. — Captain Cook lands at Botany Bay : he afterwards explored the coast as far as Cape York, and took possession, under the name of New South Wales.
1788. — *January 20th.* Captain Arthur Phillip, the first Governor of New South Wales, anchored in Botany Bay with the first fleet of convicts. On the 26th of the same month removed to Port Jackson, and founded the future city of Sydney.  
*July.* First brick store finished.
1793. — Temporary church built.
1795. — *September.* Governor Hunter arrives. Origin of pastoral Australia. Cow pastures, with herd of sixty cattle, from three lost in 1788, discovered.  
*November.* Government orders first printed by a lately-arrived prisoner.
1798. — Surgeon George Bass discovers Bass' Straits, and proves that Van Diemen's Land is an island.
1800. — Governor King supersedes Governor Hunter.
1802. — Foundation of first brick church. Flinders surveys South Australia, Port Lincoln, and Kangaroo Island.
1803. — *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (the first newspaper) published by authority. A colony planted in Van Diemen's Land.
1805. — First colonial ship built.
1806. — First great flood of the River Hawkesbury brings on a famine : 2lb. loaf sold for 5s. Governor Bligh arrived.

1808. — Governor Bligh deposed by an insurrection of the military and colonists.
1809. — Governor Macquarie arrived with the 73rd regiment.
1810. — A free school, a public market, and Sydney races established. St. Phillip's (the first permanent church) consecrated. A road cut through the bush from the market at the end of George-street to the market wharf, where the boats from the Hawkesbury lay with provisions. Governor sets out on a tour.
1813. — Messrs. Wentworth, Lawson, and Bloxland, on an exploring expedition, penetrated across the Blue Mountains, and discover the Bathurst district, the River Macquarie, &c., now a great gold district.
1817. — *January.* Mr. Oxley, the surveyor-general, explores from Bathurst along the river Lachlan up to 34 degrees S.  
*February.* Mr. Barron Field, the first judge, arrived.  
*March.* The Auxiliary Bible Society established. Mr Oxley travels from the marshes of the Macquarie overland to Port Macquarie.
1818. — Foundation-stone of St. James, the second church, laid.
1821. — Governor Sir Thomas Brisbane arrives.
1823. — Maneroo Plains, or Brisbane Downs, explored by Captain Currie. Moreton Bay and the River Brisbane explored by Mr. Oxley.
1824. — The first chief justice arrives, first attorney-general, with the new charter of justice superseding courts martial. Penal settlement founded at Moreton Bay. Liberty of the press acknowledged, and first independent "Australian" newspaper established by W. C. Wentworth and Dr. Wardell. Messrs. Hovell and Hume explore overland to Port Phillip.
1825. — Cunningham discovers Pandora's Pass, allowing access to Liverpool Plains from the Hunter River district. First arch-

- deacon arrives. First constitutional public meeting, with the sheriff in the chair, for the purpose of voting an address to retiring Governor Brisbane. Governor Darling arrives.
1826. — First thoroughbred foal, property of Thomas Icely, Esq. In 1849 gold was found on Mr. Icely's estate at Coombing, forty miles from Bathurst. Sudds and Thompson tried.
1827. — Public meeting to petition the King and Houses of Parliament for trial by jury in civil cases, and a house of assembly. Darling Downs discovered by Cunningham.
1828. — Mr. Justice Dowling arrives, who afterwards died in the discharge of his duty from overwork and want of rest.
1829. — Legislative Council established in accordance with charter granted in 1829. Their first act to establish trial by jury in civil cases. Swan River founded. Captain Sturt travels from Yass along the Murrumbidgee to the Murray, takes boat, and discovers South Australia and Lake Alexandrina.
1831. — First steam-boat launched. Sir Richard Bourke succeeds Governor Darling. The Australian College instituted. Sale at 5s. an acre by auction substituted for grant of land.
1832. — A savings bank established. First free emigrants imported at cost of land fund.
1833. — Public meeting to petition for a representative assembly.  
• Foundation of Scots' church laid.
1834. — First regatta in Port Jackson, March 30th. John M'Arthur, the founder of the exports of Australia in merino wool, died at his seat at Camden. Great public meeting to petition against the appropriation of the land revenue.
1835. — *March*. Mr. Cunningham, colonial botanist, lost on an exploring expedition with Major (now Sir Thomas) Mitchell. *May*. Political association formed, with instruction to correspond with Henry Bulwer, M. P., since Sir Henry Bulwer, K. C. B.

- September.* First Roman Catholic bishop, Polding, arrives from Liverpool.
- November.* A Baptist chapel founded by the Rev. John Saunders. Port Phillip colonized from Van Diemen's Land.
1836. — *June 2nd.* The Right Rev. W. G. Broughton, Lord Bishop of Australia, the first Australian bishop, arrives from England, and is installed. The church act establishing the principle of state assistance to all forms of the Christian religion passed. The Irish system of national education proposed by the governor, but withdrawn. South Australian colony founded.
1837. — *November.* Sir Richard Bourke bestows the name of Melbourne on the town laid out on the River Yarra Yarra. Governor Bourke returns to England.
1838. — *February.* Sir George Gipps arrives. Samuel Terry, who arrived in the colony as a prisoner, dies worth half a million sterling.
- June 6th.* The sittings of the Legislative Council first opened to the public.
1839. — Price of land raised from 5s. to 12s. an acre.
1840. — The Hunter River Steam Navigation Company established.
- October.* Governor Gipps announces that transportation had ceased since August, 1839. Same month last convict-ship, the Eden, arrived. Price of land raised to a minimum of £1 an acre and up to £100.
1841. — Census taken in May: males, 87,200; females, 43,500. Gas first used to light Sydney. Insolvency universal. Sheriff shoots himself. Registrar of Supreme Court discovered to have embezzled the funds of intestates to a large amount.
1842. — *July 16th.* A stormy public meeting to petition for legislation by representation.
- August 1st.* The *Sydney Morning Herald* established on *The Sydney Herald* enlarged. Bill for incorporating the city of

Sydney passed. In this year six hundred persons took the benefit of an insolvent act passed in February.

1843. — *January 1st.* Dispatches arrive containing the act passed by the British Parliament establishing representative institutions in New South Wales.

*June 13th.* W. C. Wentworth, Esq., and Dr. Bland returned at the head of the poll for Sydney.

*August 1st.* First meeting of the partly-elected Legislative Council. Sheep and cattle first boiled down for tallow in this year.

1844. — First peal of bells rung in St. Mary's Cathedral. Centenary Wesleyan Chapel opened. Governor Gipps' squatting regulations cause agitation for fixity of tenure. First exportation of horses to India. Sir Thomas Mitchell, surveyor-general, elected representative for Port Phillip. Resigns his seat, on finding that the governor requires unqualified support. Robert Lowe, crown nominee, resigns for the same reason.

1845. — Public meeting to petition the British Parliament for leave to import Australian grain into England on the same terms as Canadian. Petition refused.

1846. — Census taken : males, 114,700 ; females, 74,800 ; including Port Phillip. Mrs. Chisholm leaves the colony : is presented with a testimonial raised by subscription, as an expression of thanks for her active and zealous exertions on behalf of the emigrant population during the last seven years. Dr. Nicholson (now Sir Charles Nicholson) succeeds A. M'Clean, Esq., as speaker of the Legislative Council.

*June 4th.* Governor's Border Police Act rejected. Vote of censure on crown land question by a large majority of the Legislative Council. Governor Sir Charles Fitzroy succeeds Sir George Gipps.

*October 22nd.* At a public meeting to petition against trans-



portation, seven thousand signatures were obtained in Sydney, and one thousand in Maitland in a few hours.

1847. — Report of select committee, being the fifth, against the minimum price of land — against the coal monopoly of the Australian Agricultural Company.
1848. — Select committee on railway communication with the interior of New South Wales — on steam communication with England. Compromise concluded which gave fixity of tenure to squatters.
1849. — Agitation against transportation, renewed by Earl Grey, and for further representative institutions.
1850. — Earl Grey's proposed constitution rejected. Port Phillip erected into a separate province as Victoria, representative institutions granted to the two other colonies by 18 and 14 Victoria, cap. 59 — those of New South Wales enlarged.
1851. — Gold discovered. A select committee issue a remonstrance against the act of Parliament — declaration of rights.
1852. — Steam communication established. Exports exceed five millions sterling. Census gives 106,000 males; 81,000 females; without Port Phillip, which has a population of 80,000.

THE  
THREE COLONIES OF AUSTRALIA.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION — FIRST DISCOVERIES — SPANIARDS — DUTCH — ENGLISH —  
FRENCH — 1520 — 1605 — QUIROS — TORRES — TASMAN — DAMPIER —  
COOK — LANDING AT BOTANY BAY — NAMED NEW SOUTH WALES, A. D.  
1770 — FIRST COLONISTS OF BOTANY BAY.

AUSTRALIA — New South Wales — Botany Bay — these are the names under which, within the memory of men of middle age, a great island-continent at the antipodes has been explored, settled; and advanced from the condition of a mere goal, or sink, on which our surplus felony was poured—a sheepwalk tended by nomadic burglars—to be the wealthiest offset of the British crown—a land of promise for the adventurous—a home of peace and independence for the industrious—an El Dorado and an Arcadia combined, where the hardest and the easiest, best-paid employments are to be found, where every striving man who rears a race of industrious children, may sit under the shadow of his own vine and his own fig-tree—not without work, but with little care—living on his own land, looking down the valleys to his herds

—towards the hills to his flocks, amid the humming of bees, which know no winter.

Under the genial variations of the climate of Australia all the productions of southern and temperate latitudes flourish — the palm and the oak, the potato and the yam, the orange and the apple, wheat and Indian corn. Over her boundless pastures millions of sheep wander — sheep of “noble race,” whose feet, according to the Spanish proverb, “turn all the earth they touch to gold,” and cattle by tens of thousands, that may compare with the best of Durham, or Hereford, or Devon, and horses as swift and untiring as ever bounded over the stony deserts of Arabia. In her mountain ridges and river beds gold is gathered in greater profusion than ever Cortes or Pizarro dreamed — gathered without shedding one drop of blood. Peaceful seas around — safe harbors give access to — this goodly land, which may be traversed inland for hundreds of miles on foot or horseback — no ravenous wild beasts threaten or affright the timid — the aborigines are few, and quick to learn submission.

The hard work of colonization has been done; the road has been smoothed and made ready; yet there is ample verge and room enough for millions to follow in the track of the thousands who have conquered and subdued the earth, and planted and reared, not only corn and cattle, but an English race, imbued with English traditions, taught by English literature, enjoying English institutions, and practising English love of order and obedience to law, while cherishing the firmest attachment to liberty.

With these elements of social and political prosperity, only needing for full development a tide of population which England can well spare, it cannot be doubted that a very few years will transform what our fathers considered the meanest, into the greatest of Britain's dependencies; and that, at a period when continental Europe seems retrograding into deeper than mediæval darkness and despotism, side by side in friendly rivalry with the great American republic, we shall realize the threat of the baffled statesman, (when the rising liberties of Spain were crushed under the armies of the soon-to-be-exiled Bourbon,) and "call a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old"\* — a new field for the employment of able-bodied industry, which, overflowing from the crowded competition of Europe, may there help on the march of unrestricted commerce, by digging capital out of the soil, or, at less exercise of strength, produce choice raw material for the triumphs of machinery.

For some fifteen years armies of emigrants have annually proceeded in greater or less numbers to the Australian colonies, yet it is but recently that the general public have cared to inquire more than how bread was to be earned or how capital invested. Late discoveries have invested these dependencies with new importance in the eyes of all who follow with interest the progress of the Anglo-Saxon race. The time seems propitious for attempting not only to describe the features, the resources, and the prospects

\* George Canning.

of these colonies, but to trace the series of political, social, and commercial events by which an insignificant penal settlement in the most distant quarter of the globe, supported at great cost by the parent state, has given birth to a cluster of prosperous, self-supporting colonies, largely contributing, directly and indirectly, to the imperial revenues, by the production of valuable raw materials, by the consumption of British manufactures, and by the employment of any amount of labor that can be landed on their shores.

The name "Australia," now universally adopted to designate the whole island-continent, was suggested by the gallant, unfortunate, and ill-requited Flinders, in his "Account of a Voyage of Discovery to Terra Australis." From this work almost all writers on Australian geography have copied accounts of the progress of discovery previous to the voyage of Captain Cook.

The Dutch, who first explored the whole northern coast, called it New Holland in their own language. Captain Cook, after sailing around the south-eastern coast, gave it the name of New South Wales, from a supposed resemblance to that part of Great Britain, and by that name the whole island was known in English works until other settlements were formed. But colloquially, until very recently, Botany Bay, the first landing-place of Captain Cook, was vulgarly and popularly the designation given to Australia, although no settlement was ever formed there; and it remains to this day a swampy suburb, at an hour's ride from Sydney, to which idlers resort, to drink, smoke, play

quoits, and from which part of the water for the supply of that city is obtained.

Port Phillip, the name first given to the great bay on which are the ports of Geelong and Melbourne,\* after Captain Phillip, first governor of New South Wales, has been applied to the whole province; and, although by the act of Parliament which created it a separate colony the name of Victoria has been affixed to this region, it will be long before the old inhabitants will remember or consent to give any other name than Port Phillip to the district which Sir Thomas Mitchell endeavored to designate as Australia Felix, and Dr. Lang, Phillipsland.

The act of Parliament that created the third colony fixed the name of South Australia.

Official and parliamentary documents have superseded the old name of Swan River by Western Australia. Van Diemen's Land retains its old Dutch name, although also occasionally more conveniently known as Tasmania.

Dutch, Spanish, and English have succeeded in affixing nominal marks of their discoveries on Australia, which is almost the last country peopled by an European race; but the French, in spite of efforts of great pains and cost, have been generally superseded, although at one time they had appropriated all the discoveries of Matthew Flinders.

The earliest authentic records of the discovery of

\* Melbourne stands on the Yarra Yarra River, navigable by steamers of two hundred tons. Large vessels lie off its mouth in Hobson's Bay.

any part of Australia are Spanish. The traces supposed to be found by some geographers in ancient charts of "Jave le Grand," and in a copy of Marco Polo's travels, with a map, are too obscure to deserve serious consideration.

That Chinese navigators knew of the existence of Northern Australia at a very remote period is, looking at the unchanging habits of that people, more than probable. They have formed a settlement on the Island of Timor, distant only two hundred and fifty miles from Cape York, and are in the habit of resorting to the coast near the abandoned settlement of Port Essington to collect a Chinese dainty, the tre pang or seaslug.

Between 1520 and 1600 the Spaniards, in the course of their voyages from their South American possessions, discovered several islands of the Australian group; and, in 1605, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros and Luis Vaez de Torres made a voyage of discovery in two ships. After finding land, which they named Torra del Esperito Santo, now known as the New Hebrides, the ships parted company in a gale of wind: Torres, the second in command, coasted along New Guinea, and sailed through the dangerous straits which are still the dread of the mariner in stormy seasons, and still bear his name. He passed two months in this difficult navigation, mistaking the portions of the coast of Australia which he sighted for islands. Of this voyage he transmitted a full account in a letter to the King of Spain; but, in accordance with the jealous policy of the age, the record was sup-

pressed, and the existence of the straits remained unknown until they were re-discovered by Captain Cook in 1770.

But in 1762, during our war with Spain, we captured Manilla by storm, and in the archives of that city Mr. Alexander Dalrymple, the historiographer of the British Admiralty, discovered a copy of the letter to the King of Spain, which had been deposited there by Torres.

Dalrymple, with that sense of justice and right feeling which should inspire all men of science, did justice to the discoverer by inscribing on the official maps issued from his department, against the intricate passage between Australia and New Guinea, "Torres Straits."

About the same time that Quiros and Torres were pursuing their investigations, the Dutch, then in the height of their maritime power, were prosecuting voyages of discovery in the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

From the instructions prepared for the guidance of Abel Janz Tasman previous to his voyages in 1642 and 1644 (instructions which were signed by the Governor-General Antonia Van Diemen, and four members of the council, at Batavia), in which the previous discoveries of the Dutch in New Guinea and the "Great South Land" were recited; it appears that a Dutch yacht, on a voyage of discovery in 1605-6, discovered the "South Land," mistaking it for the west side of New Guinea; that a second expedition, in 1617, met with no success; and that, in 1623, a



third, consisting of the yachts *Pera* and *Arnhem*, was dispatched from Amboyna, by which were discovered "the great islands of *Arnhem* and *Spult*," being, in fact, the north of Australia, which still bears the name of *Arnhem's Land*. Other records show that, up to 1626, the Dutch had either accidentally, or by voyages of exploration, discovered and given names to about half the coast of Australia.

Many of these names are preserved to this day, for we have not the passion which afflicts some nations of re-naming after the standard of our own language — we can afford to be generous in peace and war.

The Gulf of *Carpentaria* is still called after General *Peter Carpenter*, who explored it: at that period military titles were indifferently applied to commanders at sea as on land; and captains of ships then, as at present in the Russian navy, wore spurs. The names of *Arnhem*, *Tasman*, *De Witt*, *Endrachts*, and *Edel*, cover the whole of the coast of Northern Australia as far as *Shark's Bay*.

It is curious that none of these explorations led to any permanent settlement; and that in this instance, as in many others — in America, at the Cape, and in India — England has reaped the fruits of Dutch industry and enterprise. They have scarcely been more fortunate than the indolent, anti-commercial Spaniard. The Dutch, of all their rich colonial possessions, retain only Java, and the Spaniards Cuba. And the two new gold-fields discovered by Dutch and Spaniards, Australia and California, have fallen into the hands of an English-speaking race.

Of Tasman's voyage no account has ever been published. There was found on one of the islands forming the roadstead called Dirk Hartog's Roadstead, at the entrance of Shark's Bay, in 1697, and afterwards again in 1801, a pewter plate attached to a decayed log half sunk in earth, which bore two inscriptions in Dutch, of different dates, of which the following are translations:

"1616. On the 25th of October the ship *Endracht*, of Amsterdam, arrived here; first merchant, Gilles Miebaix Van Luck; Captain Dirk Hartog, of Amsterdam. She sailed on the 27th of the same month for Bantam. Supercargo Janstins; chief pilot, Peter Ecores Van Due. Year 1616."

The second inscription was —

"1697. On the 4th February the ship *Geelvink*, of Amsterdam, arrived here; Wilhelem de Plaming, captain-commandante; John Bremen, of Copenhagen, assistant; Michel Bloem Van Estoght, assistant. The dogger *Nyptaught*, Captain Gerril Coldart, of Amsterdam; Theodore Hermans, of the same place, assistant; first pilot, Gerritzen, of Bremen

"The galley *Nel Wesetje*, Cornelius de Plaming, of Vielandt, commander; Coert Gerritzen, of Bremen, pilot. Our fleet sails hence, leaving the southern territories for Batavia."

In 1642 Tasman discovered, and sailed along the coast of, the Island of Van Diemen's Land, supposing it to be part of the "South Land."

In successive investigations by Captain Marrión, of the French navy, in 1772; by Captain Tobias, of the British service, in 1773; by Captain Cook, in 1777; and by the French Rear-Admiral D'Entrecasteaux, the coast line to the south and east was further ex-

explored; but the insularity of Van Diemen's Land, the harbor of Port Jackson, and the rivers Hunter, Brisbane, and Yarra, all destined to be the outlets to important districts in future colonies, remained undiscovered.

The many hundred leagues of coast so frequently visited by the Dutch had afforded no encouragement for the plantation of settlements similar to those which they had founded with such brilliant results in the Indian Seas.

The Commander Carstens, sent by the Dutch East India Company to explore New Holland, describes it as "barren coasts, shallow water, islands thinly peopled by cruel, poor, and brutal natives, and of very little use to the company." Tasman's Land was pronounced to be the abode of "howling evil spirits."

In these discouraging reports all mariners, until the time of Captain Cook, agreed; which is not extraordinary, considering that, after the time of Columbus, maritime discoverers sought lands in which either gold was to be had for gathering, or where rich tropical fruits abounded in pleasant harbors.

In New Holland the natives were hostile and miserably poor, in the lowest state of human existence; they built no huts, they wore no ornaments of gold or precious stones, they cultivated no ground, their barren, unfruitful coast afforded no indigenous fruits for barter; neither the yam, the cocoa, nor the pineapple, the lemon, the citron, the gourd, nor indeed any other fruit grateful to European taste.

As the Spaniards were the first, so the British were

the last, and, in their first attempts, the least successful, in exploring the coast of Australia.

William Dampier, one of the boldest and most scientific navigators of his age, author of a "Voyage round the World," from which Defoe drew many hints, visited New Holland three times — on the first occasion with his companions the buccaneers; again as pilot of H. M. S. Roebuck, when he spent about five weeks in ranging off and on the coast of New South Wales, a length of about 300 leagues; on the third occasion he passed through Torres Straits as pilot to Captain Woodes Rogers, in 1710, when he explored Shark's Bay, the coast of New Guinea, New Britain, and New Zealand.

In July, 1769, Captain James Cook, after having observed the transit of Venus at Otaheite (or Tahiti), and cruised for a month among the other Society Islands, sailed southward in search of the continent *Terra Australis Incognita*; which geographers for a preceding century had calculated must exist somewhere thereabouts, as a counterpoise to the great tract of land in the northern hemisphere.

In this search he first visited the Islands of New Zealand, which had been previously discovered by Tasman in 1662: he spent six months in investigating them, and ascertained that they consisted of two large islands. New Zealand owes the pig and potato to Cook, for which his memory was long honored and even worshiped among those heroic savages. In his report to the Admiralty, Cook recommended that any settlement which it might be considered advisable to

establish, should be planted at the Valley of Thames, where Auckland, the capital of the northern colonies, has since been founded.

Leaving New Zealand, and sailing westward, he sighted New Holland on the 11th of April, 1770, and on the 27th anchored in the roadstead to which he afterwards gave the name Botany Bay. On the following day he landed, with Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks, President of the Royal Society, Dr. Solander, and a party of seamen. They were all charmed with the bright verdure of the scene, in which every natural object—the kangaroo bounding through the open forest, the evergreen eucalypti, the grass-trees, the birds, were unlike anything they had ever seen before in the course of their voyages in various quarters of the globe.

After exploring the country for several days, during which a favorable estimate was formed of the capabilities of the district for supporting a colony,\* and vainly endeavoring to open a communication with natives, through Tupia, a South-sea Islander, Cook sailed to the northward, passing without visiting the opening into Port Jackson: taking it for a mere boat harbor, he gave it the name of the look-out seaman who announced the indentation in the dark, lofty,

\* The author of the narrative of Cook's first voyage says:—"It was on account of the great quantity of plants which Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander collected in this place that Lieutenant Cook was induced to give it the name of Botany Bay. In cultivating the ground there would be no obstacle from the trees, which are tall, straight, and without underwood, and stand a sufficient distance from each other."

## LANDINGS OF CAPTAIN COOK.

basaltic cliffs which open a passage into that noble harbor.

On the 17th of May, Cook anchored in a bay to which he "gave the name of Moreton Bay ; and, at a place where the land was not at that time visible, some on board, having observed that the sea looked paler than usual, were of opinion that the bottom of the bay opened into a river ;" but Cook came to a contrary conclusion ; it was not until 1823 that the navigable River Brisbane, which gives access to a fine pastoral country, was discovered.

Leaving Moreton Bay, Cook ran down the coast as far as Cape York, taking possession in the usual form wherever he landed. Afterwards passing between New Guinea and Australia, he proved, as Torres had before him, that they were distinct islands.

Cook landed altogether five times on this coast — first at Botany Bay, on the 28th of April, 1770 ; secondly on the 22nd of May, when he shot a kind of bustard weighing 17 lbs., and named the landing-place Bustard Bay ; the third time on the 30th of May, at a spot which, from the absence of water, he named Thirsty Sound. The fourth time was on the 18th of June, 1770 (seven days after his vessel, the Endeavor, had struck upon a coral rock), at Endeavor River, where they refitted. It was during his stay at Endeavor River that one of his crew came running to the boat, declaring that he had seen the devil, "as large as a one-gallon keg, with horns and wings, yet he crept so slowly I might have touched

him if I had not been afeared." This "devil" was a grey-headed vampyre.

On the 21st of August of the same year, having passed and named a point on the mainland "Cape York," Cook anchored, landed for the fifth time on an island which lies in lat.  $10^{\circ} 30'$  S., and having ascertained that he had discovered an open passage to the Indian Seas, by ascending a hill from whence he had a clear view of forty miles, before reëmbarking took possession in the following words:—

"As I am now about to quit the eastern coast of New Holland, which I have coasted from lat.  $38^{\circ}$  to this place, and which I am confident no European has ever seen before, I once more hoist English colors; and, though I have already taken possession of several parts, I now take possession of the whole of the eastern coast, by the name of New South Wales (from its great similarity to that part of the principality); in the right of my sovereign, George the Third, King of Great Britain."

His men fired three volleys of firearms, which were answered by the same number from the guns of the ship, and by three cheers from the main shrouds, and, then reëmbarking, he named the spot Possession Island.

These explorations of Cook completed the circuit of the island commenced and prosecuted from the commencement of the seventeenth century by the Spanish and Dutch, with the exception of the coast opposite Van Diemen's Land, which was reserved for the enterprise of Flinders and Bass.

In his exploration of Australia, Cook's usual sagacity and good fortune seem to have failed him, although his contributions to our knowledge of an important navigation were of the most valuable character.

He selected Botany Bay, a dangerous harbor, which must remain for many years an undrained swamp. He passed without examination Port Jackson, the site of Sydney; Moreton Bay, with its navigable river; and, concluding that Van Diemen's Land was part of the Island of Australia, and the dividing straits a deep bay, lost the opportunity of investigating the great bay of Port Phillip, on the shores of which the most flourishing colony in the British dominions is now rising.

In God's good providence the discovery was reserved for a fitting time.

Captain Cook and his companions had passed a few days on the intended site of the proposed penal colony, and had found a small river, a profusion of curious plants, and an indifferent harbor. They had not seen any plains of pasture fit to feed live stock. They had not found any large edible animals, such as deer, or buffaloes, or pigs. They had no means of ascertaining whether the soil was capable of carrying crops for the support of a considerable population; and the nearest land at which live stock and dry stores could be procured was the Cape of Good Hope, a colony in the possession of the Dutch.

As little judgment, as little forethought, as little common humanity was displayed in selecting the colonists as the colony. The first detachment con-



sisted of the first governor, Captain Arthur Phillip, R. N., with a guard of marines, viz., a major-commandant, twelve subalterns, and twenty-four non-commissioned officers, one hundred and sixty-eight rank and file, with forty women, their wives. These were the unconvicted section of the intended colony. The prisoners were six hundred men, and two hundred and fifty women, the latter being not only the most abandoned of their sex, but many of them aged, infirm, and even idiotic.

This fearful disproportion of sexes was maintained, and even increased, until the proportion of men to women was as six to one, and the results became too horrible to be recorded.

This "goodly company" was embarked in a frigate, the *Sirius*, an armed tender, three store-ships, and six transports, under the command of Captain Hunter. At the last moment, by an afterthought, one chaplain was sent on board. There was no schoolmaster, no superintendent, or gaolers, or overseers, except marines with muskets loaded in case of revolt. No agriculturist was sent to teach the highwaymen and pickpockets to plough, and delve, and sow. No system of discipline was planned, nothing beyond mere coercion was attempted. Even the supply of mechanics required for erecting the needful houses and stores was left a matter of chance, dependent on the trades of the six hundred felons; and, as it turned out, there were not half a dozen carpenters, only one bricklayer, and not one mechanic in the whole settlement capable of erecting a corn-mill.

The "first fleet" sailed on the 13th May, 1787, and, after a voyage of eight months, during which they touched at the Cape de Verd Islands, Rio de Janeiro, and the Cape of Good Hope, everywhere received with the greatest attention and courtesy, on the 20th January, 1788, anchored in Botany Bay.

Within four and twenty hours after landing, Governor Phillip ascertained that Botany Bay was quite unsuitable for the site of a colony, that a sufficient quantity of cultivable agricultural land, and of fresh water, were wanting, and that the harbor was unsafe for ships of burden.

Without disembarking his charge, he set out with a party of three boats, to explore the coast to the northward, and particularly Broken Bay, an inlet favorably mentioned by Captain Cook, distant about eighteen miles from Botany Bay; but, as he sailed along the barrier of cliffs which line the shores, he decided to examine a narrow cleft which Cook, passing by as a mere boat harbor, had named after the look-out man who viewed it, Port Jackson.

The day was mild and serene. The expedition sailed along the coast near enough to see, and hear the wild cries of, the astonished natives, who followed them as far as the rugged nature of the land would permit. As they approached Port Jackson, the coast wore such an appearance that Captain Phillip fully expected to find Captain Cook's unfavorable impressions realized; but he was destined to be most agreeably disappointed.

The first tack carried the expedition out of the long

heavy swell of the Pacific Ocean into the smooth water of a canal protected by two projecting "heads," and soon they came within sight of a vast land-locked lake, stretching as far as the eye could reach, dotted with small islands, whose shores sloped, forest-covered, down to the water's edge. Black swans and other rare water-birds fluttered up as the white strangers sailed on, charmed with a scene in which every feature was beautiful, yet strange: they had discovered one of the finest harbors in the world. Coasting round the shores of this great natural basin, Governor Phillip determined to plant his colony on a promontory where a small clear stream trickled into the salt water. After three days spent in exploration, he returned to Botany Bay.

On the morning of the 25th January, as they were working out, the English fleet were astonished by seeing two strange ships of war sailing into the bay. These were the *Boussole* and *Astrolabe*, the French expedition of discovery under the command of M. de la Pérouse, which had left France in 1785. La Pérouse "had sailed into Botany Bay by Captain Cook's chart, which lay before him on the binnacle. Having heard at Kamtschatka of the intended settlement, he had expected to have found a town built and market established." Thus it was probably but by a few days that the honor of discovering Port Jackson fell to England. The French squadron remained until the 10th March to refresh and refit, and, then departing, were never heard of more until, in 1826, Mr. Dillon discovered at the Manicou Islands

traces of arms and ornaments which proved their mournful fate—shipwrecked and murdered by savages.

A monument has been erected to the memory of La Pérouse and his crew in Botany Bay.

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## CHAPTER II.

### GOVERNOR PHILLIP TO GOVERNOR KING.

1788 to 1806.

FOUNDATION OF NEW SOUTH WALES—THE FIRST CHURCH—WILD CATTLE  
FOUND—GOVERNOR HUNTER—GOVERNOR KING.

ON the 26th January, 1788, an English fleet anchored in deep water close along the shore of Sydney Cove, so called after Lord Sydney, one of the lords of the Admiralty; a formal disembarkation took place—a detachment of marines and blue jackets leaped from their boats into the shades of a primeval forest; after hoisting British colors “near where the colonnade in Bridge-street now stands,” the proclamation and commission constituting the colony were read, a salute of small arms was fired, and the career of the province of New South Wales commenced.

The whole party landed amounted to one thousand and thirty souls, who encamped under tents, and under and within hollow trees, “in a country resembling the more woody parts of a deer park in England.”

Such were the incidents of the foundation, and such the founders, of our colonial empire in Australia.

No sooner had the convict colonists been disembarked, and the erection of the necessary buildings commenced, than the want of a sufficient body of artificers was experienced. The ships furnished sixteen, and the prisoners twelve, carpenters; and by a piece of unexpected good fortune, which caused much rejoicing, "an experienced bricklayer was discovered among the convicts. He was at once placed at the head of a party of laborers, with orders to construct a number of brick huts: in the meantime the governor occupied a tent."

This first example is a fair specimen of the manner in which the penal discipline in the colony was conducted for a long series of years. A useful man was placed in authority, and allowed a variety of indulgencies, quite irrespective of his moral qualities. The greatest ruffians became overseers, and occupied places of trust. Men of no use—mere drudges—were treated worse than beasts of burden.

In the month of May the entire live stock of the colony, public and private, consisted of—

2 Bulls,	29 Sheep,	18 Turkeys,
5 Cows,	19 Goats,	29 Geese,
1 Horse,	74 Pigs,	35 Ducks,
3 Mares,	5 Rabbits,	210 Fowls.
3 Colts.		

The cattle were of the Cape breed, humpy on the shoulders, and long-horned, a fact which it afterwards became of consequence to remember.

In the ensuing month it is recorded as a public calamity that two bulls and four cows wandered away

from the pickpocket herdsman who had them in charge, and were lost in the woods. In the sequel it was shown that the cattle were better colonists than their owners.

The entrance to Port Jackson, as already partly described, is through projecting capes, or two heads — which conceal and shelter the far extent of the harbor. A channel, about two miles in breadth, opens a land-locked harbor, about fifteen miles in length, of irregular form, the shores jagged with inlets, coves and creeks, which, when the first adventurers landed, were covered to the water's edge with the finest timber. At the western extremity a current of fresh water mingling with the sea tide gave signs of the winding Paramatta River, navigable for small vessels of burden for eighteen miles.

The settlement was planted on the banks of an inlet or "cove," about half a mile in length and a quarter in breadth, which received a considerable stream of fresh water at the upper end.

The native blacks, who then swarmed along the whole coast from Botany Bay, and far beyond in either direction, came to meet the white strangers naked, armed with the shield, the spear, and the boomerang, which the settlers often took for a wooden sword.

From the circumstance of the aborigines not being subject to the authority of any sort of government except that of the strongest man, from the imperfection of their arms, and their mental incapacity for combination, their communications and skirmishes

with the white intruders do not occupy that place in the history of the colony which is filled by the Red Indian tribes in the history of North America, or the semi-civilized Peruvians and Mexicans in that of the Spanish South America.

On the 7th February, 1788, the king's commission for the government of the "territory of New South Wales and its dependencies" was read. By this instrument the colony was declared "to extend from the northern extremity of the coast called Cape York, in the latitude of 10 deg. 37 min., to the southern extremity of South Cape, in the latitude of 43 deg. 39 min., including all adjacent islands within those latitudes, and inland to the westward as far as the 135th degree of east longitude."

It was not until five years after Governor Phillip's landing that a temporary church was erected, and divine service performed on the 25th August, 1793.

The founders of New England did not let a week elapse without making permanent arrangements for religious worship and education which endure to this day, and have spread their humanizing influences all over the wide empire of the American republic. While under the rule of a sovereign which some, disparaging the present, are accustomed specially to glorify as the reign of a Christian king, the lash, the pillory, the gallows, were afforded as freely as teaching and preaching were neglected.

It sounds strangely in this age to hear that, "the clergyman complaining of non-attendance at divine service," which was generally performed in the open

air, alike unsheltered from wind and rain, as from the fervor of the summer's sun, "it was ordered that three pounds of flour should be deducted from the ration of each overseer, and two pounds from each laboring convict, who should not attend prayers once on each Sunday, unless some reasonable excuse for absence should be assigned."

In 1791 (April) we find Mr. Schaffer, a German, arriving from England as a superintendent of convicts; but on discovery that, as he spoke no English, he was unable to discharge his duties, he retired, and accepted a grant of land of 140 acres at Rosehill. One cannot help feeling curious to know under whose patronage and for what services a German, not speaking English, was sent as superintendent of convicts at the antipodes. Is it possible that Miss Burney's friend, Madame Schwellenberg could have had anything to do with this little appointment?

At the same time James Ruse received a grant of the same quantity of land as a reward for being the first settler who had declared himself able to support himself on a farm he had occupied fifteen months, and to dispense with an allowance from the government stores.

These incidents, with the arrival, in two detachments, of a regiment raised for the purpose of serving in the colony, under the title of the New South Wales Corps, are the most remarkable events during the latter years of the reign of Governor Phillip, who resigned his office to Lieutenant-Governor Grose, and returned to England on the 11th December, 1792.



Governor Phillip took with him to England two of the aborigines, with whom, throughout the period of his government, he had endeavored to promote a good understanding—a task involving great difficulties, arising from the brutality of the convicts and the untameable nature of the savages. The tribes that swarmed round Port Jackson and Botany Bay have, with one exception, all died out; the character and customs of those who survive in less settled districts remain unchanged, or at any rate not more changed than the fox chained in a courtyard, or a pheasant in an aviary.

In September, 1795, Governor Hunter arrived, superseded Lieutenant-Governor Grose, and remained the usual term of five years. His difficulties were less formidable than those of Governor Phillip, which were not extravagantly rewarded by a retiring pension of £500; his office was no sinecure.

He had had a large body of convict colonists under his command who would not work, who would drink, and who were therefore dependent for subsistence on supplies imported from England and India. By every ship that left the harbor there was an attempt, generally successful, to escape, on the part of convicts; fifty were taken from one ship at a time “when the loss of the labor of one man was important;” and it was no wonder that all who could endeavored to fly from a colony where the population was annually put on short allowance of food, and very often in danger of actual starvation.

At this period, and for more than twenty years,

spirits were the ordinary currency of the colony. Almost all extra work was paid for in spirits, and it was thought quite proper to stimulate the diligence of prisoners, in unloading a vessel laden with government stores, by giving half a pint of spirits to each. Among free and bond, drunkenness was a prevailing vice. The tyranny of the prisoner-overseers was so great that the best-inclined convicts were goaded to recklessness and crime. Criminal assaults on women were so common that "the poor unfortunate victims were designated by a title expressive of the insults they had received."

The whole population, on the arrival of Captain Hunter, with the exception of one hundred and seventy-nine, were dependent on the public stores for rations, many of the exceptions being reputed thieves, presumed to subsist on plunder from stores and gardens.

The most favorable feature of this epoch was the extension of cultivation by settlers along the rich alluvial land on the banks of the river Hawkesbury, one of the first districts which seemed to yield a fair return to industry.

Among the events of this five years may be noted the first use of a printing-press, the discovery of the lost herd of cattle, and the foundation of a settlement, called Newcastle, on the Coaeve or Hunter's River.

A printing-press had been sent out with the first fleet, but no printers; and all public and private announcements were made in manuscript, or by the bellman, until Governor Hunter discovered a printer

among his convict subjects, and established a government-gazette. In this age of newspapers it seems incredible that a number of officers and gentlemen should have been satisfied for so many years without something in the shape of a newspaper ; but the colony was divided into slavedrivers and slaves, who were equally content to spend their time in feeding pigs and getting drunk.

The reports of the natives led the governor to send out as scouts men employed as hunters, to collect fresh provisions for public use, and they discovered, feeding on rich pastures on the other side of the river Nepean, still known as Cow Pastures, a herd of sixty cattle, the produce of the five cows and two bulls lost in 1788.

To realize this sight, so pleasant to the eyes of men condemned to perpetual rations of salt meat, rarely varied by fresh pork, the governor himself set out on an expedition, and tracked and viewed the herd with great delight. An old bull, fiercely and obstinately charging, was slaughtered in self defence ; he proved to be of the humpy-shouldered Cape breed of the lost stock, which left no doubt of the identity of the herd, and dispelled the notion of indigenous cattle ; the party made a delicious meal, and a few pounds were carried back thirty-eight miles, over a rough road, to Paramatta, the rest being left to the native dogs and hawks with deep regret, "as meat fresh or salt had long been a rarity with the poor sick in the hospital." Many an Australian within the last ten years, galloping through Cow Pastures to purchase the finest cat-

tle at £2 a head, to boil down for tallow, has been reminded of the time when a bit of bull beef, ~~that~~ a well-bred dog would now reject, was a luxury to a governor and his suite!

These wild cattle were preserved and increased greatly, dividing into "mobs," each under the charge of a victorious bull, until the general increase of stock diminished their value: many were consumed by surrounding small settlers, and the rest, being fierce and a nuisance, were destroyed by order of the government, when beef ceased to be a luxury.

About the time these wild herds were discovered, three miserable cows of the Indian breed sold for £189, and two years afterwards two colonial ships were employed eight months in bringing 51 cows, 3 bulls, and 90 sheep from the Cape, at a cost exceeding the highest price ever paid for the finest short-horns.

Governor Hunter, with the best intentions, and an excusable ignorance of the laws of political economy, more than once endeavored to fix the wages of labor, by a convention of employers, and mutual agreement not to outbid each other. Harvest wages were settled at 10s. a day; but we find, by frequent proclamations, that the rule of supply and demand prevailed, and laborers when much needed obtained "exorbitant terms," although a reward and indemnity were offered to informers.

At this period officers were allowed the use of ten prisoners for agricultural and three for domestic services, and so on in a diminishing scale to every description of settler down to the emancipist, who was

allowed the use of *one* prisoner to assist in tilling his grant. All these servants were fed and clothed by the crown.

In 1797 the first school building was erected for the benefit of three hundred children, and the chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Johnson, began to catechise them after the service on each Sunday.

In 1800, Captain Hunter was superceded by Captain King.

Under Governor King, the Female Orphan School was founded, and the first issue of copper coin took place. The *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, the first Australian paper, was founded by a prisoner, George Howe, and published by authority in 1803. The insurrection of prisoners, two hundred and fifty strong, armed with muskets, broke out at Castlehill, on the 4th March, 1804, and was defeated in fifteen minutes by Major Johnstone, of the New South Wales corps, with twenty-four men. Sixty-seven insurgents fell on the field; ten were tried and five hung.

A penal settlement was formed in Van Diemen's Land, by Captain Collins. In the first instance, he proceeded to Port Phillip, but unfortunately landed on the eastern arm, where there was a deficiency of water; and being, as most military men are, a bad colonist, he abandoned it and proceeded to the Derwent. He had made his way to the Yarra Yarra River, the probability is that Sydney would have become the second settlement; and, with the profusion of white slave labor then available applied on the

fine agricultural land of Port Phillip, it is probable that by this time a population of five millions would have been established there.

1806 was signalized by the great flood on the River Hawkesbury, on the banks of which the principal grain cultivation of the colony was carried on. The Hawkesbury, in ordinary periods, winds in a strangely tortuous course through a deep valley, between the precipitous banks above which, on the occurrence of heavy rains, it rises as much as thirty feet in a very few hours. These floods are not periodical. Until 1806 none of importance had occurred; the people had settled down on the rich "interval" land, the deposit of former overflowings. Crops, houses, and many colonists, were all swept away in one night, without warning. Famine was the immediate result. The two-pound loaf rose to 5s.; wheat fetched 80s. a bushel, and every vegetable in proportion. A serious flood had occurred in 1801, but this far exceeded it. Indeed it is difficult to teach caution in such matters. A flood which occurred in the Maneroo district in May, 1851, turned into lakes twenty feet deep two townships carefully laid out by the government surveyor, besides destroying several farms, drowning a number of settlers, and a tribe of blacks.

But this great flood on the Hawkesbury caused eventually a complete reërrangement of the cultivation and occupation of that district.

Calamities, according to popular prejudice, seldom come single; it was certainly the case in New South

Wales in 1806, for the clock tower fell, and Governor Bligh arrived. Captain King resigned his command on the 13th of March.

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## CHAPTER III.

### GOVERNOR BLIGH — 1806 TO 1809.

BLIGH OF THE BOUNTY — HIS BRUTALITY — M'ARTHUR — FOUNDER OF AUSTRALIAN WOOL TRADE — BLIGH ATTEMPTS TO CRUSH M'ARTHUR — REVOLUTION — ARREST OF GOVERNOR — HE IS SUPERCEDED — RESULTS OF THE REVOLT.

CAPTAIN BLIGH appears to have received his appointment as governor of New South Wales as a reward for his gallant conduct in successfully conducting an open boat, with eighteen companions in misfortune, scantily provided with food and water, 3,618 miles, to the Island of Timor, without the loss of a single man, after being cast adrift by the mutineers of the *Bounty*. No man could be more unfit for such an office. But governors are appointed for the oddest reasons: sometimes because they are distinguished soldiers and sailors; sometimes because they have written a timely book or pamphlet; often because they are related to some great personage, and, being in debt, want an opportunity for saving money: but, no matter for what cause, or by what influence, a governor is appointed; the most important quality

of all, the temper of the candidate, is seldom taken into account; and yet in the governor of a colony, no talents can compensate for a violent or spiteful temper.

Bligh had a very difficult task to perform: almost the only unconvicted colonists were the military and civil officers, and their relatives, who formed a sort of Venetian oligarchy of government and trade, and who, beside enjoying the lion's share of grants of land and use of labor, had been accustomed to share with previous governors, at a price arbitrarily imposed upon the importers, the cargoes of vessels as they arrived, and enjoy the profits derived from distributing articles in demand among the unprivileged settlers at a monopoly tariff. Spirits formed a principal part of these cargoes, and it became the interest of every civil and military officer in the colony that the settlers, free and bond, should drink as much spirits as possible. Bligh brought out instructions to put down this traffic. Hence his immediate unpopularity. But he was a specimen of the naval captain now happily nearly extinct—violent in temper, coarse in language, hating the military, and despising civilians. To those of the humblest class who cringed before him, he could be generous of public land and public money; but to those who dared resist, or even in the slightest degree question, his authority, he was implacable.

At an earlier period in the career of the colony, no one would have ventured to question his acts, however tyrannical; but in 1806 the character of the settlement was slowly changing.



A few respectable free settlers had arrived under Governor King. They found profitable employment in growing produce for the use of the government by the help of the convicts, whom the government also fed and clothed—a very safe speculation. All the officials were, as already observed, more or less engaged in barter; but some of the New South Wales Corps had quitted the military service, in order to betake themselves exclusively to agriculture and commerce. Among these was John M'Arthur, formerly a lieutenant in that regiment, a man of far-seeing views, great energy, great intelligence, and indomitable courage.

M'Arthur observed the improvement produced by the climate of New South Wales in the texture of the hairy Indian sheep, and appreciated the value of the district called the Cow Pastures, on which the produce of the lost herd of cattle were found feeding. In 1793 he purchased eight fine-wooled sheep which had been sent out by the Dutch government to the Cape, and reëxported to Sydney, as the Dutch farmers preferred their own fat-tailed breed.

His purchase subjected him to much ridicule among his brother colonists, who thought it more profitable to grow wheat or pigs for sale at the commissariat stores.

In 1803, in consequence of grievances of which he had to complain at the hands of the colonial authorities, M'Arthur visited England, and there not only obtained permission to purchase a few pure Spanish merinos from the flock of George III., at a time when

the exportation of the merino from Spain was a capital crime, and the breed was only to be procured by royal favor, but produced such an effect on the Privy Council, before whom he was examined, on his wool projects, that he carried out to the colony on his return an order for a grant of ten thousand acres. This grant he selected on the banks of the Cow Pasture River, for he appreciated the discrimination of the lost herd which had there fattened and increased while the colonists starved. This spot has since become famous as "Camden," where the first pure merinoes, were bred and the first vineyards planted in New South Wales. To Camden, perhaps, future generations of grateful Australians will make pilgrimages. For not greater services, the Greeks made Jason a demi-god. No doubt the golden fleece was shorn from a merino ram.

Soon after Bligh landed, Captain King introduced him to M'Arthur, who invited the new governor to visit Camden and inspect his flocks, the result of the crosses from the king's merinoes. The answer was a refusal, in the language of the fore-castle, expressive of Bligh's contempt for all such occupations. This was characteristic of the man: when the mother and uncle of young Heywood (a boy midshipman on board the *Bounty*, who received a free pardon and afterwards rose to distinction in the navy) entreated his aid in obtaining mercy for one whose only crime had been not forcing his way through and springing into the overladen boat, he answered in a few lines, "I very much regret that so much baseness formed the

character of a young man I had a real regard for, and I hope to hear that his friends can bear his loss without much concern."

It would be unnecessary to dwell upon Bligh's numerous acts of cruelty and tyranny, were it not that his government was one of the great epochs in the history of New South Wales. The results of his despotism turned the attention of the English public to the resources of the colony, and the defeat of his crowning act of oppression enabled M'Arthur to change the destinies of Australia, and make it, instead of a mere goal, the finest emigration field in the world.

A little anecdote related by Wentworth, culled from hundreds floating in the colony at that period, (1816,) illustrates a form of government and a state of society strangely at variance with our notions of the rights of Englishmen. Governor Bligh, having heard from his cowkeeper that the servant of an officer of the staff had made some impertinent remarks because disappointed of the customary supply of milk for his master, on the following morning sent for the dissatisfied delinquent. Wondering and trembling, he was ushered into the presence of his excellency, was received with a condescending smile, and told that, as the chief constable's house was on his way home, the governor had merely sent for him to save a dragoon the trouble of going there with a letter. The poor fellow, his mind relieved, respectfully received the missive, delivered it, was immediately tied to the triangles, and rewarded with twenty-five lashes from a cat-o'-nine tails.

After a career of two years, during which the person and property of every class of the community were at the mercy of his temper for the day, Governor Bligh proceeded with arbitrary illegality to summon, arrest and try Mr. M'Arthur, on a frivolous charge of infringing the customs laws, hatched up for the purpose of wreaking his long-smouldering spite.

Mr. M'Arthur having refused to notice an illegal summons, the Advocate-General Atkins arrested him, lodged him in prison, and proceeded to try him in a court over which he himself presided with the assistance of six officers of the New South Wales Corps. This Atkins had been appointed by private interest in England, had no knowledge of law, and was described in a private dispatch to the Secretary of State as "accustomed to inebriety, the ridicule of the community, pronouncing sentences of death in moments of intoxication, his knowledge of law insignificant, and subject to private inclination."

- To supply his deficiency of legal knowledge, he took for his councilor and secretary a convict attorney of the name of Crossley, transported for forgery.

With the help of this miscreant, Atkins prepared a monster indictment—charging M'Arthur with a series of offences—from contempt of court up to high treason. M'Arthur protested against being tried by a man who was at once judge, juror, and prosecutor, beside having a private quarrel of some years standing with the prisoner. The judge-advocate refused to receive the protest, and actually threatened to commit him for words spoken in his own defence.

Fortunately for the fate of the colony, the six officers who with the advocate-general, formed the court, sided with the prisoner. They admitted him to bail, and repeatedly, in the most respectful terms, addressed the governor, praying him to supersede Atkins and appoint an impartial advocate-general. Bligh refused — perhaps he had no power to adopt that step; but he could have put an end to proceedings, which ought never to have been commenced, by entering a *nolle prosequi*. But it was his object to crush M'Arthur, so he persisted; and, when he found the six officers of the New South Wales Corps equally firm in protecting them, he proposed to arrest and imprison the six officers on a charge of high treason. At this stage of the proceedings the patience of the colony was exhausted. On the 26th of January, 1806, Major Johnson, lieutenant-governor, commanding the New South Wales Corps, who had been prevented by severe illness from attending to the repeated summonses of the governor, rode into town. He was surrounded by his friends and brother officers, who represented to him the madly tyrannous course which the governor was bent upon pursuing, and urged him to place the governor under arrest.

In order to support him in taking this extreme step, the following memorial was signed by every respectable settler then in the town of Sydney:—

"SIR,—The present alarming state of the colony, in which every man's property, liberty, and life are endangered, induces us most earnestly to implore you instantly to place Governor Bligh under arrest, and to assume the command of the colony. We pledge our-

selves at a moment of less agitation to come forward to support the measure with our fortunes and our lives."

Immediately after the presentation of this address, the drums of the New South Wales Regiment beat to arms, the troops formed in the barnack square, and then marched, with Major Johnson at their head—bayonets fixed, colors flying, and band playing—toward Government House, which they surrounded. Mrs. Putland (afterwards married to General O'Connell, commander of the forces in New South Wales), the widowed daughter of the governor, courageously endeavored to resist the entrance of the insurgent officers through the Government gate: failing in that, she tried to conceal her father under a bed, whence, after an anxious search, he was dragged, and conducted, without personal injury, to the presence of Major Johnson, who immediately placed him in custody and assumed the command of the colony. Thus ended the first act of this bloodless revolution—the 1688 of New South Wales.

Cowardice has been imputed to Bligh for concealing himself, but without reason. He was neither king nor even commander, to awe the troops with his presence; and any man may be excused for flying from an infuriated regiment; above all a man like Bligh, conscious that there was scarcely an individual in the assemblage which surrounded Government House whom he had not injured or insulted.

Major Johnson transmitted to the Secretary of State a full account of the events which had forced upon him the government of the colony. Lieut.-Gov

ernor Foveaux, arriving from England ignorant of the insurrection, superseded Major Johnson, and was himself superseded by Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, who arrived from Van Diemen's Land on the 1st July, 1809; by him Governor Bligh's arrest was continued until the 4th February, when the colonel agreed to put him in possession of his ship, the Porpoise, on condition that he should embark on the 20th, and proceed to England without touching at any part of the territory of New South Wales, and not return until he should have received the instructions of his Majesty's ministers. Released from arrest, Bligh treated engagements entered into under duress as void, and lingered on the coast for some time, in hopes of provoking a movement in his favor. He afterwards repaired to Van Diemen's Land, where he was at first treated with much attention, but on communications arriving from the lieutenant-governor at Sydney, was constrained to remain on board his ship.

It is easy to imagine the sensation created in the king's cabinet when they learned that the gaol colony of Botany Bay had imitated our forefathers of 1688, and, after sending a tyrant unscathed packing, had continued the government of the colony with a new governor and new officials, without bloodshed or plunder.

Vigorous measures were decided on, and an able man was selected to execute them.

Lachlan Macquarie, lieutenant-colonel of the 73rd Regiment, was appointed governor, and sent out with

instructions to reinstate Captain Bligh in that office, and, after the expiration of twenty-four hours, to resume his own authority—to declare void all appointments, grants of land, and processes of law which had taken place between the arrest of Governor Bligh and his own arrival; and further, to send home Major Johnson in close arrest, to be tried for his rebellion. At the same time the 73rd, Colonel Macquaire's regiment, was sent out to relieve the New South Wales Corps, which was disbanded, the privates being, however, permitted to volunteer into the 73rd. These orders were obeyed.

Major Johnson was tried at Chelsea Hospital on the 11th May, 1811, found guilty 5th June, and sentenced to be cashiered. His conduct was clearly illegal and revolutionary, but it saved the colony. He made that a peaceable revolution which would otherwise have flamed into a wild riot, how ending, with the fearful materials present there, it is impossible to foretell.

He returned to the colony, and lived many years on his farm at Annandale, near Bathurst district, much respected. We have not been able to learn whether the signers of the memorial ever attempted to compensate him for the ruin of his own professional prospects. The gratitude of a mob, well dressed or ill dressed, is as vain a thing as the gratitude of a prince.

Bligh became an admiral, but was never again called into active service; the slight sentence, considering the offence, passed upon Johnson was a



stigma he carried to his grave; he died in 1817. Had he succeeded in his conspiracy to ruin M'Arthur, the progress of the colony would have been retarded for years. Up to 1845, wool of the breed introduced and improved by the persevering experience of M'Arthur formed the only certain staple export of Australia. Without fine-wooled sheep Australia must have remained dependent for subsistence on the commissariat expenditure, and would perhaps, in a fit of economy, have been abandoned, in favor of some penitentiary plan or island prison nearer home.

Since the time of Bligh there have been colonial governors as violent in temper, as tyrannical in disposition, but their powers have been limited not only by law, but by public opinion, the influence of a free press, and the effects of a ready communication with Europe.

Without a free press or a public to restrain him, out of sight and hearing of a British Parliament, had Bligh confined his tyrannies to the humbler classes he might have lived honored and prosperous, while his victim sank brokenhearted, or died under the lash, as hundreds have on the shores of Port Jackson and Paramatta; but he ventured to attack a gentleman, the comrade of soldiers, a man, too, of courage, eloquence, and determination, and the unjust governor fell.

## CHAPTER IV.

### GOVERNOR MACQUARIE—1809 TO 1821.

DEPRESSED STATE OF THE COLONY — A CONVICT CREATED A MAGISTRATE —  
IMPULSE GIVEN TO INDUSTRY — DISCOVERY OF BATHURST PLAINS — THE  
PROSPERITY OF THE COLONY DUE TO MACQUARIE AND M'ARTHUR.

COLONEL MACQUARIE directed the government of New South Wales for twelve years, the longest period that any governor has enjoyed that office. He exercised a pure despotism, but it was neither a stupid nor a brutal despotism, according to the light of the day.

The following extract from his first dispatch not unfairly describes the state of the colony on his arrival:—

“I found the colony barely emerging from infantine imbecility, suffering from various privations and disabilities, the country impenetrable beyond forty miles from Sydney, agriculture in a yet languishing state, commerce in its early dawn, revenue unknown, threatened with famine, distracted by faction, the public buildings in a state of dilapidation, the few roads and bridges almost impassable, the population in general depressed by poverty; no credit, public or private; the morals of the great mass of the population in the lowest state of debasement, and religious worship almost totally neglected.”

He was the first man of decided talent appointed to office in Australia. He was distinguished by his

self-reliance and constant energetic action. If the comparison had not been vulgarized, one might liken him, comparing small with great, to Napoleon. His was the same order of mind—views narrow but clear—essentially a materialist in politics. In New South Wales, wealth was the visible sign of success, and Macquarie rewarded success wherever he found it. He made roads, erected public buildings, and again and again traversed the whole length and breadth of the colony, following closely in the footsteps of new explorers, distributing grants to skilful settlers, planning townships, and pardoning industrious prisoners. His activity was untiring, his vanity boundless. He seldom condescended to ask advice, and, when he did, generally followed his own opinion. With charming *naïveté* he observes, in answer to a dispatch from the Secretary of State, informing him that it was *not* the intention of the government to appoint a council to assist the governor, as had been recommended, “I entertain a fond hope that such an institution will never be extended to this colony.”

Even the recommendations of secretaries of state he disregarded; and, as he was successful, he was permitted to pursue his own course. He infused his own active spirit into the settlers, and under its influence the material progress of the colony was extraordinary. Higher praise his administration scarcely deserves. The moral, not to say the religious, tone of the settlement owes little to his care. One instance will suffice. He requested, in one of his dispatches,

that as many men convicts as possible should be transported, as they were useful for labor, but as few women, as they were costly and troublesome; thus losing sight altogether of the inevitable demoralization which must be the result of a community of men.

He has been much attacked for saying "that the colony consisted of those who had been transported, and those who ought to have been;" and "that it was a colony for convicts, and free colonists had no business there:" but there was truth at the bottom of both these rude speeches.

He looked upon New South Wales as a place where convicts were sent to be subsisted at the least possible expense, and certainly neither he nor any one else at that time foresaw a period when it would cease to be a convict colony. His strong common sense told him that the cheapest way of ruling his felon subjects was to make them wealthy and respectable. Under his predecessors the idea had grown up that convicts were sent over to be the slaves of the free settlers. Governor Macquarie would perhaps have had no objection to that arrangement, on moral grounds, had it been possible; but it was not, as the free settlers of free descent were too few in number, too indolent in character. He therefore took up the opposite ground — that the colony and all its emoluments and honors were for the benefit of those prisoners who were industrious, prosperous, and free from legal criminality.

The first individual selected for favor was a Scotchman, Andrew Thompson, transported at sixteen years

of age, probably for some trifling offence ; who had not only attained wealth and developed new sources of commerce for the colony, by building coasting vessels, by establishing saltworks and other useful enterprises, but had distinguished himself by his humanity and general good conduct. For instance, in the *Sydney Gazette* of the 11th May, 1806, we find Thompson permitted to purchase brewing utensils from the government stores, at the usual advance of fifty per cent. on the invoice price, with the privilege of brewing beer, "in consideration of his useful and humane conduct in saving the lives and much of the property of sufferers by repeated floods of the Hakesbury, as well as of his general demeanor."

Macquarie, within two months after his arrival, created Thompson a magistrate, and repeatedly invited him and other emancipists of similar success and conduct to dine at Government House, in spite of the remonstrances of the free inhabitants, of the officers of the 43rd Regiment, which succeeded on the 73rd, and of hints from the Colonial Office. No doubt in New South Wales many a prisoner was induced to persevere in sober industry by the sight of an ex-prisoner and publican riding in his carriage to dine at Government House ; but in England the effect could scarcely have been beneficial as a restraint on idle apprentices and incipient pickpockets. Such reports interleaved in the *Newgate Calendar*, and other light reading of the felony of Britain, must have tended to diminish the vague horrors that previously hung round Botany Bay.

Governor Macquarie commenced by employing the convict laborers not required by settlers, in making roads, and erecting and repairing public buildings. On the first harvest after his arrival, to the horror of the martinets, he permitted the privates of the 73rd Regiment to hire themselves out as reapers, to be paid in grain or money, the price of wheat at that time being £1 3s. 6d. a bushel. At the same time he patronized amusements which the high price of provisions did not prevent the wealthier classes from establishing. The *New South Wales Gazette* of October, contains an account of three days' racing, conducted in Newmarket style, followed by an ordinary and two balls, the principal prize, a lady's cup, being "presented to the winner by Mrs. Macquarie." The whole proceedings are related in a style which would leave nothing to be desired in the *Little Pedlington Gazette*. For instance, "the subscribers' ball, on Tuesday and Thursday nights, was honored with the presence of his excellency the governor and his lady, his honor the lieutenant-governor and lady, the judge-advocate and lady, the magistrates and other officers, civil and military, *and all the beauty and fashion of the colony*. The business of the meeting could not fail of diffusing a glow of satisfaction—the celebration of the first liberal amusement instituted in the colony in the presence of its patron and founder." A supper followed the ball:—"After the cloth was removed the rosy deity asserted his preëminence, and, with the zealous aid of Momus and Apollo, chased pale Cynthia down into the Western World;

the blazing orb of day announced his near approach, and the god of the chariot reluctantly forsook his company: Bacchus drooped his head, Momus could no longer animate. The *bons vivants* no longer relishing the tired deities left them to themselves."

In the first year of his government, Macquarie undertook a tour through all the known districts of the colony, and continued the practice annually during his reign; on his return, by a general order he censured the settlers for the little attention they had paid to domestic comfort or good farming, in buildings for the residence of themselves and shelter of their cattle; offered cattle, sheep, and goats from the government herds, to be paid for in grain, with eighteen months' credit; and announced that he had marked out for settlement the five new townships of Richmond, Pitt, Wilberforce, and Castlereagh, out of reach of floods of the Hawkesbury and Nepean, in which grants would be awarded to deserving applicants, on condition that they erected dwellings according to plans supplied, and other measures of a similar practical character.

In the December of the same year, the first brick church, St. Phillip's, was consecrated (on Christmas-day) by the Reverend Samuel Marsden, a name from that time forward constantly occupying a conspicuous place in the annals of the colony, as clergyman, magistrate, landowner, and stockbreeder. For instance, his next appearance in the *Sydney Gazette* is, in conjunction with two other gentlemen, advertising a reward of one pound sterling, *or a gallon of spirits*, for

every skin of a native dog, an animal which was then, and has been ever since, the scourge of flockowners.

In 1812 a committee of the House of Commons, appointed to examine the state of the colony of New South Wales, after examining a number of witnesses, including the ex-Governors King and Bligh, printed a report, from which it appears that the population amounted to 10,454, distributed in the following proportions:—The Sydney district, 6,158; Paramatta, 1,807; Hawkesbury, 2,389; Newcastle, 100: of these 5,513 were men, and 2,200 women; military 1,100; of the remainder, one-fourth to one-fifth was actually bond; the rest being free or freed by servitude or pardon. In addition, 1,321 were living in Van Diemen's Land, and 177 in Norfolk Island, but orders had been sent out to compel the voluntary settlers, who had adhered to that island after the government establishment had been removed, to withdraw.

The settlements of New South Wales were bounded on the west by the Blue Mountains, "beyond which no one has been able to penetrate the country; some have with difficulty been as far as one hundred miles from the coast, but beyond sixty miles it appears to be nowhere practicable for agricultural purposes; beyond Port Stephen and Port Jervis these settlements will not be capable of extension; of the land within the boundaries one half is absolutely barren. The ground in actual cultivation was 21,000 acres, and 74,000 were held in pasture. The stock, in the hands chiefly of the settlers, was considerable, but it was



still necessary to continue the importation of salt provisions.

“The currency of the colony was in government paper and copper money, but barter was the principal medium of sale; and wheat and cattle had been recognized by the court of justice as legal tenders in payment of debts.

“The exportations of the colony consisted principally of whale oil, seal skins, coals, and wool. The iron ore, of which there was abundance, had not been worked. The trade in skins and coal was limited by the monopoly of the East India Company. Sheep not sufficiently numerous to make wool an article of large exportation. The culture of hemp had been less attended to than might have been expected. An illegal trade in sandal-wood had at times been carried on with the South Sea Islands and China. Mercantile speculation had been discouraged by impolitic regulations.

“For many years a maximum price was imposed by the governor upon all imported merchandise, often too low to afford a fair profit to the trader; at this price the whole cargo was distributed amongst the civil and military officers of the settlement, who alone had liberty to purchase; and articles of the first necessity were afterwards retailed by them, at an enormous profit, to the poorer settlers. The imposition of a maximum price on imported articles, and on the price of grain and butcher's meat, had been discontinued, and the attempt to limit the price of labor had

failed." The trade in spirits was reported as a great difficulty.

The defects of the system of criminal jurisdiction by court-martial, and civil jurisdiction without legal assistance or juries, are described; and the report states, that the governor, uncontrolled by any council, had power to pardon all offences, except treason and murder; to impose customs duties, to grant lands, and to issue colonial regulations; and for the breach of these regulations to inflict a punishment of 500 lashes and a fine of £100.

The committee recommended that a council should be given to the governor. With regard to grants of land, they reported that, according to evidence, a retiring governor had granted 1,000 acres to his successor, who had returned the compliment by a similar grant immediately after being installed in office.

Free settlers latterly had not been permitted to emigrate to New South Wales without giving proof that they were possessed of a certain amount of capital. On their arrival they usually received a grant of land in proportion to their means.

"On the arrival of Governor Bligh, two-thirds of the children annually born in the colony were illegitimate."

This report, which also entered at considerable length into the treatment of convicts, directed a little of public attention to the antipodean colony, and the result was to induce the government to appoint a judge, with two magistrates chosen in rotation, who composed a supreme court in civil and criminal cases;

and in Van Diemen's Land, as well as New South Wales, a fifty-pound civil court, with appeal, was formed, with the judge-advocate as sole judge.

This was the first step toward meliorating the absolute despotism under which the free settlers had hitherto lived. Measures were also taken for removing the restrictions on commerce with Van Diemen's Land, and abolishing trade monopolies : but Governor Macquarie's protests against the interference or assistance of a council prevailed, and he was enabled to pursue his plans with that concentrated vigor which is the one advantage of an enlightened despotism.

To enumerate all the public works which, with no mean amount of skill, and at great cost to the parent country, Governor Macquaire executed, would be neither useful nor amusing. It is sufficient to state, that while he erected many substantial if not elegant buildings, in the town of Sydney, he took care, by well-devised roads, to render available all the cultivable land, and all the pastures to be found within as much of the territory under his command as had been explored. The settlers imbibed his spirit of progress, and imitated his energy ; flocks and herds increased to a great extent, although the sheep were for the greater part of an inferior breed, a mixture of the hairy Bengal and heavy-tailed Cape, whose wool was worthless for export. But M'Arthur, whose efforts had been neglected and repressed by previous governors, was steadily pursuing his great idea of naturalizing the " noble race," or Spanish merino, on the plains of Australia. In December, 1812, the *Sydney*

*Gazette* reports that ten rams of the merino breed, lately sold by auction from the flocks of John M'Arthur, Esq., produced upwards of 200 guineas; and that "several coats made entirely of the wool of New South Wales are now in this country, and are of most excellent quality." In 1852 a whole fleet of ships were required to convey the wool of Australia to the manufacturers of Yorkshire.

In 1813 occurred one of those droughts, the one drawback on what would otherwise be a course of unvarying prosperity, which are periodical in Australia. On this occasion it was not only the crops that suffered; the numerous flocks and herds were unable to find sufficient pasturage on plains which, when first discovered, were overspread with luxuriant herbage many feet in height. Necessity forced upon the colonists the idea of again searching for a passage across the Blue Mountains.

The attempt had been unsuccessfully made by several early colonists; amongst others, by the brave Surgeon Bass.

The last and successful effort was made by three gentlemen whose names are still well known to the colony — William Wentworth, son of the D'Arcy Wentworth, who took an active part in the deposition of Governor Bligh, one of the earliest free colonists, himself destined in various ways to occupy a distinguished place in the annals of the colony; Lieutenant Lawson, afterwards one of the greatest land and stock owners; and Gregory Blaxland, one of the first members of the Colonial Legislative Council of New South Wales.

With incredible toil and hardships, they effected a passage across a chain of mountains clothed with dense timber and brushwood, and intersected by a succession of ravines, which presented extraordinary difficulties, not so much from their height, as from their precipitous character. At the foot of the opposite side of the mountains, an easy journey led to Bathurst Plains, the finest pasture country the colonists had yet seen, far exceeding even the famous Cow Pastures on the Nepean. It is to this country, the discovery of Messrs. Wentworth and Lawson, that the gold-diggers are now streaming in thousands, but not clambering up precipices, sliding down ravines, and cutting paths through impenetrable brushwood, like the early pioneers, but easily traveling, and grumbling as they go, at the ill-kept condition of a macadamized road which has been conducted with admirable engineering skill in a series of ascending and descending gradients, over which even loaded drays can travel with ease.

Within fifteen months from the discovery of the first pass over the Blue Mountains, Governor Macquarie caused a practicable road to be made. He never lost any time in planning and executing such works. Some governors would have occupied as much time in preparing a dispatch as he did in completing the work. Many settlers, without waiting for the road, contrived to transfer portions of their live stock to the new pastoral El Dorado. In April, 1815, the governor himself, with Mrs. Macquarie, accompanied by his principal officers and Mr. Lewin, painter

and naturalist, set out on a progress to view what he called "his last conquest."

The results of this last progress, made two months before the battle of Waterloo, are recorded in the following extracts from a "General Order:" certainly one of the most curious documents of the kind ever published.

#### MACQUARIE'S JOURNEY ACROSS THE BLUE MOUNTAINS.

"The commencement of the ascent from Emu Plains, through a very handsome open forest of lofty trees for twelve miles, was much more practicable and easy than was expected. At a further distance of four miles a sudden change is perceived in the appearance of the timber and quality of the soil, the former becoming stunted, and the latter barren and rocky. Here the country became altogether mountainous and extremely rugged. From henceforward to the twenty-sixth mile is a succession of steep and rugged hills, some so abrupt as to deny a passage altogether; but at this place an extensive plain is arrived at, which constitutes the summit of the western mountains, and from thence a most extensive and beautiful prospect presents itself on all sides to the eye. On the south-west side of this table land (query, King's Table Land) the mountain terminates in an abrupt precipice of immense depth. At the bottom (the governor does not mention how they got to the bottom) is seen an immense glen twenty-four miles in length, terminating as abruptly as the others, bounded on the further side by mountains of great magni-

tude, to which the governor gave the name of Prince Regent's Glen. Proceeding hence to the thirty-third mile, on the top of a hill, an opening presents itself on the south-west side of the glen, from whence a view is obtained of mountains rising beyond mountains with stupendous masses of rock in the foreground, in a circular or amphitheatrical form. The road continues from hence, for the space of seventeen miles, on the ridge of the mountain which forms one side of Prince Regent's Glen, and there suddenly terminates in a perpendicular precipice of 676 feet. Down this Mr. Cox had constructed a road to which the governor gave the name of Cox's Pass, and to the ridge, Mount York.\* On descending the pass, the first pasture land and soil fit for cultivation appeared, watered by two rivulets running east and west, and joining, forming Cox's River, which takes its course through Prince Regent's Glen, and empties itself into the river Nepean. Three miles hence the expedition of Messrs. Blaxland, Wentworth, and Lawson terminated. A range of very lofty hills and narrow valleys, alternately, form the part of the country from Cox's River for a distance of sixteen miles, until Fish River is reached.

"Passing on, the country continues hilly, but affords good pasturage, gradually improving to Sidmouth Valley, distant eight miles from the pass of Fish River. The land level, and the first met, unencumbered with timber, forms a valley north-west and

\* Mount York road has since been abandoned in favor of an easy descent by Mount Victoria, executed by Sir Thomas Mitchell.

south-east between hills of easy ascent, thinly covered with timber. Leaving the valley, the country again becomes hilly; thirteen miles brought the party to Campbell River, where an extensive view opened of gently rising hills and fertile plains. In the pools of Campbell's River, that very curious animal, the paradox, or water mole, was seen in great numbers.\* The Fish River, which forms a junction with the Campbell River, a few miles to the northward, has two fertile plains named O'Connell's and Macquarie's Plains. Seven miles from the bridge over Campbell River, Bathurst Plains opens to the view, presenting a rich part of champaign country of eleven miles in length, bounded on both sides by very beautiful hills thinly wooded. The Macquarie River, which is formed at a junction of the Campbell and Five Rivers, takes a winding course through the plains, which can easily be traced from the highlands by the verdure of the trees on the banks, which are the only trees throughout the extent of the plains. The level and clean surface (marked in plough ridges) gives them very much the appearance of lands in a state of cultivation."

On the south bank of the Macquarie, the governor encamped for a week, occupying his time in making excursions in different directions through the country on both sides of the river; and on Sunday, 7th May, 1815, fixed on a site suitable for the erection of a town at some future period, to which he gave the name of "Bathurst."

\* It is now extinct in that part of the colony.



This discovery, due to the courageous perseverance of the three gentlemen before named, and rendered available by the wise energy of Macquarie, combined with the fine-wooled sheep of M'Arthur, prepared and assured the fortunes of these great colonies of Australia, and laid the foundation of an empire on the sweepings of our gaols. Macquarie was vain, hopeful, ambitious, and not unjustly proud of what, in his dispatches to Earl Bathurst, he called "his discovery;" but, his utmost expectation only extended to supporting a considerable but isolated population by pastoral and agricultural pursuits. He expressly stated, in his curious general order, that "The difficulties which present themselves in the journey from hence (Sydney) are certainly great and inevitable; those persons who may be inclined to become permanent settlers will probably content themselves with visiting the capital rarely, and of course will have them seldom to encounter."

What would have been his pride and admiration could he have foreseen that, within a few miles of the plains of pasture land which have realized to the first settlers hundreds of thousand of pounds in wool, gold lay in heaps for gathering; and that within the lifetime of Wentworth, the explorer, an unbroken army of gold adventurers would crowd the highway from Sydney to the "City of the Plains," and in one year double the exports and the consuming powers of the colony!

The road to Bathurst Plains, executed in an incredibly short period, under the direction of Governor

Macquarie, was materially improved by succeeding governors, and especially by the surveyor general, Sir Thomas Mitchell, the Cook of Australian inland discovery. Sir Thomas Mitchell effected works second only in importance and merit of design and execution to the Simplon Pass over the Alps. It is unfortunate that he was not permitted to carry out other public works which he suggested at a period when the barracks and gaols were filled with idle convicts.

Amongst other improvements, the road was diverted from Mount York, where the drivers were in the habit of cutting down and attaching part of a tree to their drays, to Mount Victoria.

Under Macquarie, in addition to the Bathurst, the Argyle district, one of the best agricultural and pastoral districts on the road, of which Goulburn is the centre, was discovered; as also Port Macquarie, afterwards a penal settlement, at the mouth of the river Hastings, leading to a fertile district, as yet, in consequence of the price of land and labor, unoccupied to its full extent. Mr. Oxley, the surveyor-general, traced the rivers Lachlan and Macquarie to the west of the Blue Mountains, where they disappear in a swamp in dry seasons, and in seasons of extraordinary rain form an inland sea. The governor also formed one penal settlement on the fertile soil of Emu Plains, and another in the coal district at the mouth of the river Hunter, not improperly named Newcastle. He materially improved the aspect of Sydney by laying it out on a new plan, and gave encouragement to every useful enterprise.

He was wise enough to see the importance and did his best to create a class of small farmers, who, tilling the ground with their own hands, would be independent of hired labor, and assist in protecting the colony against the effects of a dearth of corn. With this view, he gave grants of thirty acres each to emancipated convicts. Unfortunately, he did not accompany this wise measure with an importation of female population. Among the gossiping libels against the yeomanry class current among the squatocracy is a statement that Macquarie's settlers sold all their farms for rum. This statement was investigated by Mrs. Chisholm; she found a great number of the settlers in the Hawkesbury voting for members of council on their original grants. That under the horrid single-man system many should have flown to rum for consolation is not extraordinary. The old saw says —

“Without a wife,  
A farmer's is a dreary life.”

Very little could be expected from a population of which not one in five could obtain an honest help-mate, and which knew little of clergymen except as sellers of rum and dispensers of lashes. The duty of educating the masses had hardly begun to make way even in the mother country, and thus it was only the inoculation of whatever good there was in the colony, and the facility of getting an honest living, that prevented the colonists of Macquarie's time from becoming a nation of robbers and murderers.

The ignorant and the vicious were turned loose in

New South Wales with the lash and the gallows for those who were found out, but with independence for those who were industrious. The result showed how human nature can run clear where not pressed down by poverty or compressed in towns.

The Rum Hospital was a specimen of the tone of morality during the early years of New South Wales. It was built by three gentlemen, under a contract with the governor, which gave them a monopoly of the sale and importation of rum for a certain number of years. The workmen were, as much as possible, paid in rum, and public houses were multiplied to an extent exceeding the proportion in the lowest and poorest haunts in Great Britain.

Many individuals, profiting by the enormous government expenditure, became wealthy; and all the sober, and many who were not sober, of the free or freed population were prosperous. It became manifestly better policy to live by work or trade than by robbery.

Of churches there were two, and these barely filled; of the few clergymen the majority were occupied as magistrates, in awarding lashes to refractory servants, in farming, in breeding stock, and dealing in anything that would bring a profit. When New South Wales was considered worthy of an archdeacon, one honorable exception, the much-loved Parson Cowper,\* was passed over and neglected, according to the rule

\* A son of Rev. Mr. Cowper is one of the most respectable and influential men in the colony, and a valuable member of the Legislative Council

of the day, in favor of an ex-wine-merchant. The Roman Catholics, amounting to some thousands, were not allowed to have the comfort of a priest of their own religion.

Considering that the Roman Catholic cannot, like the Protestant, retire to any solitude and there relieve his mind by prayer and confession to God — that he deems the intervention of the priest, especially on his deathbed, essential to his salvation — it is not extraordinary that the Irish part of the prisoner population should have been turbulent and desperate; they felt themselves condemned to misery in this world, and perdition in the next — dying “unhousel’d, disappointed, unanel’d.”

The tone of society in the towns was horrible: no educated or honorable class; no church worthy of the name; no schools except for the wealthy, and these chiefly taught by convicts; slave-masters who sold rum; slaves who drank it; an autocrat surrounded by parasites, whose fortunes he could make by a stroke of his pen; except military honor, and the virtue cherished by a few who lived apart, there was as little virtue and honor as freedom in this wretched, prosperous colony.

From the foundation of New South Wales to the end of Governor Macquarie’s administration, about 400,000 acres of land were granted to private individuals. Of these, in course of time, many town lots have become of enormous value, and some of the country land; but much was barren, and not worth

cultivation when better land was rendered accessible by roads.

In 1817, the first Judge, Mr. Field, arrived; a branch of the Bible Society was established, and a Roman Catholic priest, Father O'Flynn, landed and spent some time in the colony, but, not having been duly authorized by the home government, he was compelled to return. Bigotry was in full bloom before Christianity had taken root.

In 1819 arrived a commissioner of inquiry, John Thomas Bigge, Esq., and his secretary, Thomas Hobbs Scott, Esq. He remained until February, 1821, having collected a body of evidence, which was afterwards printed for the use of the House of Commons, and contains many curious stories. The publication of this report had a considerable effect in directing the attention of the British public to the resources of Australia, and eventually caused the influx of a superior class of emigrants. But it was not until Governor Darling's time that the demand for convict laborers, on terms then in force, began to exceed the supply. Colonists, chiefly the Scotchmen, discovered the advantage of agricultural pursuits in a colony in which, with a grant of land, they became entitled to rations for twelve months for themselves and their wives, and convict laborers at the rate of one for each thirty acres, who were also rationed by the government for the space of eighteen months. The inquiry by Mr. Commissioner Bigge was partly owing to the representations made and a work published by Mr. William Wentworth, during a visit paid

to England for the purpose of being called to the bar. Among other subjects that came under the notice of the commissioner was the ecclesiastical government of New South Wales. The report of Mr. Bigge recommended the appointment of an archdeacon. Mr. Scott, the Secretary, lost no time in taking orders, and in 1825 reappeared in the colony as Archdeacon Scott.

In the year that the royal commissioner quitted the colony, a Wesleyan chapel was opened, and the foundation-stone of a Roman Catholic cathedral was laid by the governor, at the request of Father Therry — good Father Therry, — who shared with Parson Cowper the honor, the respect, the affection, of the poor colonists, and of the outcast prisoner population, whom they so faithfully tended. Goldsmith's picture may stand for either of them :

"Unskillful he to fawn or seek for power,

\* \* \* \* \*

But in his duty prompt to every call,

He watched, he wept, he prayed, he felt for all.

At his control

Despair and anguish fled the struggling soul,

Comfort came down, the trembling wretch to raise,

And his last faltering accents whispered praise."

In 1822 Governor Macquarie embarked for England, after a longer and more successful administration than any governor in the Australian colonies has hitherto enjoyed. He found New South Wales a gaol, and left it a colony; he found Sydney a village, and he left it a city; he found a population of idle pris-

oners, paupers, and paid officials, and he left a large, free community, thriving on the produce of flocks and the labor of convicts.

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## CHAPTER V

### GOVERNOR BRISBANE—1821 TO 1825.

GOVERNOR BRISBANE AND GOVERNOR DARLING—CHARTER OF JUSTICE GRANTED — EXECUTIVE COUNCIL APPOINTED — DISCOVERIES OF BRISBANE RIVER, PANDORA'S PASS, AND OVERLAND ROUTE TO PORT PHILIP — BRISBANE SUDDENLY SUPERSEDED BY DARLING — THE LAND BOARD — CASE OF SUDDS AND THOMPSON.

MACQUARIE was succeeded by Sir Thomas Brisbane. His term, undistinguished by remarkable actions on his part, was full of events of importance to a colony which was fast acquiring a population and could no longer be controlled by a purely military despotism. From the day of Macquarie's departure, a struggle commenced between the people and the government, which has not yet ended, and will not end until the Australians acquire complete rights of self-government and self-taxation.

Under any circumstances, Sir Thomas Brisbane's task would have been difficult. The fortunes made in the colony had attracted a class of emigrants not prepared to submit to a despotic system which the prisoner part of the population could not, and the



officials and settlers living on the government were not inclined to resist.

Succeeding to the absolute powers of Macquarie, three years after landing, in 1824, the Legislative, or rather Executive Council, against the check of which his imperious predecessor had protested, was established. The first chief justice, the first attorney-general, a solicitor general, who was also a commissioner of the Court of Requests, a master in chancery, and colonial treasurer, arrived in the colony. Trial by jury took place in the first court of Quarter Sessions; liberty of the press was conceded; and the *Australian*, the first colonial newspaper independent of government aid, was published by Mr. Wentworth and Dr. Wardell, and was followed by two other journals.

While on this side of the globe we were declaiming and subscribing for the liberties of Greeks, Spaniards and South Americans, at the antipodes, our countrymen were struggling for trial by jury and "unlicensed" printing.

Commercial liberty yet remained to be gained. The East India Company claimed the exclusive right of trading in the Indian seas, and repeatedly asserted this right by confiscating vessels loaded with rice and sugar for Port Jackson. In 1824, the captain of a man-of-war actually seized the ship *Almorah*, with a valuable cargo of tea and rice, at anchor in Sydney Cove, and sent her, in charge of his lieutenant, a prize to Calcutta.

Major-General Sir Thomas Brisbane, K. C. B., had acquired a high reputation, both as a soldier in the

Peninsula, and as a man of science. The first observatory in Australia was erected under his auspices. But his government, which lasted only four years, was unpopular, and the political concessions made rendered further concessions inevitable. To this fire was added the fuel of grievances which went home to the pockets of almost all the settlers and traders, and an insult which deeply offended a powerful, united, and intelligent religious community — the Scotch Presbyterians.

The Presbyterians applied, in 1823, for assistance to build a Presbyterian Church in Sydney, and referred pointedly to the support afforded the Roman "Catholics." The tone of the application appears not to have pleased either Sir Thomas or his secretary, and he returned a bitter reply, of which the following is the concluding paragraph. The style is eminently characteristic of colonial secretaries and governors :

"When, therefore, the Presbyterians of the colony shall have advanced by private donations in the erection of a temple worthy of religion ; when, in the choice of their teachers, they shall have discovered a judgment equal to that which has presided at the selection of the Roman Catholic clergymen ; when they shall have practiced what they propose, 'To instruct the people to fear God and honor the King ;' when, by endeavoring to 'keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace' in a colony requiring it more than all others, they shall have shown through their lives the influence of the holy religion they profess,

then assuredly, will the colonial executive step forward to extend its countenance and support to those who are following the Presbyterian creed."

The governor, it is said, acted under the advice of his secretary, a gentleman of the old Tory school. The Scotch gentlemen applied to the home government, when the governor received a severe reprimand, and the Presbyterians the aid they required.

Sir Thomas Brisbane's financial measures were equally unfortunate, yet there is no reason to question the purity of his motives.

It had been usual under previous governors to purchase the surplus grain from farmers at the current price of the day. The colonial government was almost the only purchaser, and to government the corn-growers looked for a certain share of their profits. Among the smaller settlers, the only cash they received in the course of the year was from the commissariat. This was the latter phase of a system which began with rationing the whole community, and gave liberty to prisoners who undertook to support themselves, which, in its second stage, willingly provided a free and emancipated settler with land and prisoner labor, and purchased the produce of the land so tilled, to feed the prisoners whom the settlers could not employ.

Sir Thomas Brisbane, who arrived with Commissioner Bigge's report hanging over him, adopted the ordinary contract system, and invited tenders for the quantity required at the lowest price. The small farmers, unused to calculate the effects of open com-

petition, rushed forward to the stores with such eagerness that wheat fell from 10s. and 7s. 6d. a bushel to 3s. 9. Abstractedly he was right; practically he was wrong; so serious a change required care and time.

About the same time, the governor established a colonial currency which raised the pound sterling twenty-five per cent., and proceeded to pay government debts in colonial money to parties who had contracted debts in sterling currency — a revival of the system of depreciating the circulating medium obsolete in England, but still practiced by continental monarchs.

The colonists, seeing the price at which wheat was transferred to the government stores, took it for granted that the harvest had been redundant, proceeded to feed pigs, and otherwise expended the unsold proceeds of their harvest. As the season advanced, it was discovered that the harvest, so far from being plentiful, was deficient. Wheat rose to £1 4s. a bushel. Those who had sold cheap, had to buy at a high price. The tampering with the currency added to the severity of the crisis. A great flood swept away the finest crops on the Hawkesbury. A famine followed: the government, by proclamation, required that cabbage stalks should not be rooted up. A large body of small farmers became so insolvent that their farms were sold to pay their debts, and passed into the hands of money-lenders and grogshop-keepers.

The discontent of the colonists reacted on the home government, and Sir Thomas Brisbane was recalled on the 1st December, 1825.

Four very important discoveries were made during his administration. In 1823, the Maneroo Plains, situated between two and three thousand feet above the level of the sea, separated from Twofold Bay by a lofty range of mountains, over which there is now a dray-track, were explored by Captain Currie, R. N., who named them Brisbane Downs, but they have since reverted to their native name. In the same year, Mr. Oxley, the surveyor-general, by order of Sir T. Brisbane, explored Moreton Bay, and discovered the navigable River Brisbane, leading to the fine semi-tropical country now fully occupied by squatters, but capable of supporting a large agricultural population.

In the following year Messrs. Hovell and Hume made their overland journey to Port Phillip; and, in 1825, Mr. Allan Cunningham, one of the most enterprising and accomplished of Australian explorers, discovered Pandora's Pass, a cleft than which the Alps offer nothing more wild, more imposing, or more picturesque, affording the only practicable road from the Upper Hunter to the pastoral uplands of Liverpool Plains.

Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Darling, K. C. B., succeeded Governor Brisbane; the colony during an interregnum of eighteen days having been in the hands of Colonel (afterwards General) Stewart, of Bathurst, an honor which formed one of the boasts of the gallant officer and standing jokes of the district for the remainder of his life.

## GOVERNOR DARLING — 1825 TO 1831.

Sir Ralph Darling arrived in December, 1825 ; his administration lasted six years, and was singularly and deservedly unpopular. He was a man of forms and precedents, of the true red-tape school—neat, exact, punctual, industrious, arbitrary, spiteful, common-place. He labored hard to reduce into order the confusion he found in the public offices of the colony, and substituted a system which became quite as corrupt and more dilatory. It was like changing from the court of a Turkish *cadi* to the Court of Chancery. He obstinately evaded the control intended to be imposed upon him by the secret official and nominee council, and perpetrated an act of tyranny which has no parallel in English history since the time of Charles I. and the Star Chamber. The red-tape tendencies of Governor Darling were shown in his management of the waste lands of the colony.

In the last year of Governor Brisbane, New South Wales, in common with South American mines, Greek and Spanish loans, and a crowd of other bubble speculations, which seem to be decennially necessary to the commercial existence of Englishmen, became the subject of the operations of a great company, incorporated by charter and by act of Parliament, with a directorate including the *best men* of the city of London, a capital of a million pounds, a grant of a million acres, and various other privileges and pre-emptions, of which a monopoly of the working and

sale of coal eventually proved the most profitable to the shareholders and offensive to the colonists.

Under Governor Darling, the agents of this Australian Agriculture Company selected, took possession, and commenced operations on their grant.

A retrospect of the plans and prospects in 1825 will perhaps afford the best landmark of the progress of the colony from the time when the whole community depended for salvation from famine on one ship, and that ship driven by adverse gales out of Sydney Heads away to sea.

### *The Australian Agricultural Company.*

The directors of the Australian Agricultural Company, in their original prospectus, represent New South Wales as well calculated for the growth of "timber, wheat, tobacco, hemp, flax, and fruits, amongst which are the olive, grape, fig, mulberry, guava, almond, peach, citron, and orange." They derived their information chiefly from the reports of Mr. Commissioner Bigge; and from the same source rested great hopes of profit—

"1st, On the growth of fine merino wool.

"2ndly, From the breeding of cattle and other live stock, and the raising corn, tobacco, &c., for the supply of persons resident in the colony.

"3rdly, From the production, at a more distant time, of wine, olive oil, hemp, flax, silk, opium, &c., as articles of export to Great Britain.

"4thly, From a progressive advance in the value

of land, as it becomes improved ; and by an increased population."

The grant of land was made on the ground that the colony would derive advantage from the importation of so large a capital, invested in cattle, horses, and sheep of the Cheviot breeds ; in the cultivation of the produce of Southern Europe ; and that the mother country would be saved the cost of maintaining a certain number of convicts.

At that period it was still so much an object with the government to relieve itself of the cost of the maintenance of criminals, that it was agreed that the company should be relieved of quit rent, on condition of their employing a certain number of prisoners. But, from the period of the grant to the Australian Agricultural Company, the value of convict labor rose so rapidly, that they never were able to obtain the stipulated number of servants ; and in 1830 we find the editor of the *Sydney Monitor* proposing that convicts should be sold on arrival to the highest bidder, and anticipating that they would realize, in lots of two hundred, £100 a year each for five or ten years !

In the course of the correspondence with this company, the Secretary of State for the Colonies announced that in future, "instead of giving grants of land free, lands were to be put up to sale, according to a valuation of the surveyor-general, similar, in many respects, to the system adopted in the United States of America."

This course had been suggested by Mr. Commis-



sioner Bigge, with a price of 10s. an acre for lands near towns, and 5s. an acre in the country.

It so happened that the example of the Australian Company infected many members of Parliament and other persons of influence, who hastened to obtain grants which cost the minister nothing, and appeared to the granters of immense value—a delusion on both sides. The precedent became most embarrassing to the government, while many of the huge blocks were of very little money value to the absentees. Instead of adopting the simple American system of survey and sale at a moderate price, a plan of grants was adopted admirable in theory, but too open to favoritism to work well.

As to the Australian Agricultural Company, their proceedings created, in the then state of the colony, a financial revolution. They sent out from England, as companies always do, a numerous staff; cargoes of implements and breeding stock on a most costly scale; purchased ewes and heifers so largely that the price was raised one, and even two hundred per cent. throughout the colony. The company, with a “long pocket,” was a universal purchaser, and sellers were never wanting as long as they had any money to invest.

A reaction of course followed, as it always does follow extravagant expectations of pecuniary profit. The colony, nevertheless, derived advantage from the introduction of the company's capital and superior stock in sheep, horses, and cattle. The grand ideas of vineyards, olive oil, opium, silkworm cultivation, and orange groves, which formed applauded passages

in speeches in the House of Commons and the courtroom of the company, were never extended beyond the resident manager's or commissioner's gardens.

Unfortunately the beneficial influences were neutralized by the coal monopoly, which not only handed over a large tract of coal seams to the superior machinery and active capital of the company, but actually precluded the colonists from working, on any terms, coal which might happen to be found under their estates.

These doings seem monstrous. They were at that period ordinary transactions, in which honorable men and liberal politicians took a share without shame. In the same perverse spirit of monopoly, the authorities and merchants at Sydney, until 1826, compelled every ship to enter and break bulk at Sydney before calling at the ports of Van Diemen's Land. Monopoly was then as much an article of faith with statesmen as free trade is at present.

Under Governor Darling emigration from England of persons of moderate capital increased. Unfortunately a vicious system was established in the surveyor's office, for the benefit of favored or feeing parties, by which surveys of waste land were kept secret from the uninitiated. In 1830 the author of a letter of advice to emigrants recommends "every settler to bring out an order from the secretary of state to be allowed to inspect charts and maps in the surveyor's office;" and adds, "From being denied such inspection, emigrants wander about the interior of the colony at great expense, but to little purpose." Reform

makes slow progress in the Colonial Office. In 1848 there existed secret choice reserves near the town of Melbourne, which, by the open sesame of a letter from Earl Grey, were, after being long retained, handed over to a German colony.

Darling ruled the convicts with a rod of iron. The times of the "first fleeters," the irresponsible flogger, and the short allowance of coarse food were revived. A penal settlement was formed at Moreton Bay, and there, it is commonly affirmed, the prisoners were so badly treated that they committed murder in order to be sent for trial to Sydney.

At the same time the county magistrates were empowered to award any number of lashes for insolence, idleness, or other indefinite offences. As it was not lawful for a man to flog his own assigned servants, he exchanged compliments with a neighbor. Considering the class of persons who were then frequently selected for magistrates in the colonies, it may easily be conceived to what brutal excesses such irresponsible authority led.

But year by year the civilizing elements of society made way. At one time, in 1826, we find a dispensary opened: in the following year a great public meeting is held, with the sheriff in the chair, to petition the King and both Houses of Parliament for the civil rights of trial by jury, and a House of Assembly; and the next year a general post-office throughout the colony, and an Australian jockey club, are established. The editor of a newspaper is found guilty of libel, and two gentlemen fight a bloodless duel. A dis-

pensary, a post-office, an action for libel, and a duel! — the banes and antidotes of civilized society.

The two last years of Governor Darling present events and contrasts still more remarkable.

A Legislative Council, being a step in advance of the Executive Council established by charter of 1828, held its first meeting in 1829. This was the check against which Governor Macquarie so earnestly and naïvely protested. The council consisted of the Arch-deacon (now Bishop) Broughton, who superseded Mr. Scott, the Commander of the Forces, the Chief Justice, Attorney-General, and Colonial Treasurer, Alexander M'Clean, afterwards (at eighty years of age) the first speaker of the first Australian Legislative Assembly, and four members selected by the governor.

The proceedings of this council were secret, under an oath administered to that intent; and the governor had an absolute veto. The majority were officials, totally unacquainted with the colony; and; looking at the minority in which, in the open Legislative Assembly, the nominees of the government were constantly found, it is not extraordinary that this council gave no manner of satisfaction to the colony. Yet it must be owned that in 1829 New South Wales did not possess the materials for representative institutions.

The first act of the council was to establish trial by jury in civil cases.

In the following year, on the 31st of March, 1831, the first steam-boat in Australia was launched; two

other steam-boats came into use within a few months. Close after the steam-boat followed Dr. Lang, from Scotland, the first Australian agitator, a Presbyterian O'Connell, who having professed and printed every shade of political opinions, has recently avowed his preference for a republic, and his hope that he "shall yet see the British flag trailed in the dust."

Decidedly, in 1831, Australia was making progress.

In October General Darling resigned his government, and was succeeded by General Sir Richard Bourke.

The history of General Darling's administration reads more like that of one of Napoleon's pro-consuls than that of an Englishman reigning over Englishmen.

The case of Sudds and Thompson is an instance which stands out in the history of the colony as a sort of landmark of the termination of the Algerine system of government, affording a singular example of the state of society in which such an outrage on law, justice, and constitutional rights could be not only done but defended.

The story is worth relating, if it were only to show what deeds may be done and defended in the same age by the same race that expended millions in redeeming negro slaves, and in efforts to convert aboriginal cannibals.

Sudds and Thompson were two private soldiers in the 57th Regiment, doing duty in New South Wales in 1825, the second year of Sir Ralph Darling's reign. Thompson was a well-behaved man, who had saved

some money; Sudds was a loose character. They both wished to remain in the colony.

In New South Wales they saw men who had arrived as convicts settled on snug farms, at the head of good shops, and even wealthy merchants and stockowners. As to procure their discharge was out of the question, Sudds, the scamp, suggested to Thompson that they should qualify themselves for the good fortune of convicts, and procure their discharge by becoming felons.

Accordingly they went together to the shop of a Sydney tradesman and openly stole a piece of cloth, were, as they intended, caught, tried, convicted, and sentenced to be transported to one of the auxiliary penal settlements for seven years.

In the course of the trial the object of the crime was clearly elicited. It became evident that the discipline of the troops required to keep guard over the large convict population would be seriously endangered if the commission of a crime enabled a soldier to obtain the superior food, condition, and prospects enjoyed by a criminal. Accordingly, Sir Ralph Darling issued an order under which the two soldiers, who had been tried and convicted, were taken from the hands of the civil power, and condemned to work in chains on the roads of the colony for the full term of their sentence, after which they were to return to service in the ranks.

On an appointed day the garrison of Sydney were assembled and formed in a hollow square. The culprits were brought out, their uniforms stripped off and replaced by the convict dress, iron-spiked collars

and heavy chains, made expressly for the purpose by order of the governor, were rivetted to their necks and legs, and then they were drummed out of the regiment, and marched back to gaol to the tune of "The Rogue's March." Sudds, who was in bad health at the time of his sentence from an affection of the liver, overcome with shame, grief, and disappointment—oppressed by his chains, and exhausted by the heat of the sun on the day of the exposure in the barrack square—died in a few days. Thompson became insane.

A great outcry was raised in the colony: the opposition paper attacked, the official paper defended, the conduct of the governor. The colony became divided into two parties; until the end of his administration, Sir Ralph Darling, whose whole system was a compound of military despotism and bureaucracy, was pertinaciously worried by a section which included some of the best and some of the worst men in the colony: combining together for the extension of the liberties of the colony, they found in the Sudds and Thompson case the inestimable benefit of a grievance.

It would be unjust to consider Sir Ralph Darling's sentence by the light of public opinion in England. He was governor of a colony in which more than half the community were slaves and criminals; he had to punish and to arrest the progress of a dangerous crime; but as the representative of the sovereign, by *ex post facto* decree, he exercised powers which no sovereign has exercised since the time of Henry VIII.,

and violated one of the cardinal principles of the British constitution,—rejudging and aggravating the punishment of men who had already been judged.

At the present day it is, as we before observed, only as an historical landmark that it is right to recall attention to a transaction which can never be repeated in British dominions, although we may find precedents in the decrees of a president of the French republic, and decisions of California committees of vigilance, where the absence of all evidence and acquittal by legal tribunals have not saved the victims of a mob, or a despot, from condign punishment.

During General Darling's government further successful explorations of the interior were made, both by private individuals and officials. Among the latter were Major (now Sir Thomas) Mitchell, Mr. Allan Cunningham, Mr. Oxley, and Captain Sturt, the most fortunate of all.

In his second expedition, in 1829, Captain Sturt embarked with a party in a boat on the Morrumbidgee (which receives the waters of the Macquarie, the Lachlan, and Darling), until he came to its junction with the Murray, an apparently noble stream. Pursuing his voyage, in spite of many impediments, hardships, and dangers, from rocks, snags, sandbanks, and hostile savages, he reached the Lake Alexandrina, and discovered the future province of South Australia. This lake is a shallow sheet of water, sixty miles in length and forty miles in breadth, which interposes between the sea and the river, thus unfortunately presenting an obstacle to ocean communication.



The hopes excited by the discovery of this picturesque river have hitherto not been realized. Although broad, deep, and bordered by rich land for many score miles, the perpetual recurrence of shallows limits the draught of water to two feet, at which steamers cannot be profitably navigated.

Captain Sturt, having made this important discovery, returned by reascending the river.

Having unfortunately become blind, in consideration of these and other services rendered to South Australia, the new Legislative Council of that colony have recently voted him a pension of £500—an act of liberality for which no precedent is to be found in the proceedings of the other settlements.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### GOVERNOR BOURKE—1831 TO 1838.

**SIR RICHARD BOURKE—RELIGIOUS EQUALITY ESTABLISHED BY CHURCH AND SCHOOL ACT—THE REGULATIONS FOR ASSIGNMENT OF CONVICTS—STEP TOWARDS ABOLISHING TRANSPORTATION—SQUATTING REGULATIONS SYSTEMATIZED—ORIGIN OF WAKEFIELD'S COLONIZATION BUBBLES—FOUNDATION OF NEW COLONIES OF PORT PHILLIP, SOUTH AUSTRALIA.**

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR RICHARD BOURKE, K. C. B., became Governor of New South Wales in December, 1831, and retired in November, 1837. He was, without question, the ablest man who has as yet occupied that office; equal in zeal, energy, and plain common

sense to Macquarie; superior in the liberality, humanity, and statesmanlike far-sightedness of his views. With wise self-reliance he resisted the blandishments of the official clique who have been the curse of all our colonies, and the opposition of the faction of white slave-drivers, who looked upon the colony as a farm to be administered for their sole benefit. He had courage, too, of a rare quality, for he dared to differ from his chief, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, on a vital point of administration—the land question; his recorded objections to the Wakefield system are remarkable for their prophetic wisdom.

He was, and his memory still is, deservedly popular among the humble, or the wealthy sons of the once humble settlers — a rare merit, and not a qualification for favor at the Colonial Office.

The six years of his reign were crowded with measures and events of the utmost importance in the history of New South Wales.

1. The discussions of the Legislative Council became public, and the estimates were regularly submitted and discussed.

2. The Church and School Corporation (which had become a gross job) was abolished, and religious equality established by an act of the Legislative Council.

3. An attempt was made to introduce the Irish national school system (which the bigots defeated.)

4. Free grants of land were abolished, and sale by auction at a minimum price substituted.

5. The dispatch was received from Lord Glenelg,

and steps were adopted, which, in 1840, finally abolished transportation to New South Wales.

6. The squatting system was legalized and systematized on a plan which has since produced nearly £60,000 per annum.

7. Rules for regulating the number of convict servants to which each settler should be entitled (without favor,) and the number of lashes which should be inflicted on a convict servant by a single magistrate, were framed and promulgated.

8. Port Phillip was settled from Van Diemen's Land and South Australia by colonists from England.

The powers of the council imposed on the governor of New South Wales in the last year of Sir Thomas Brisbane's administration were, under Sir Ralph Darling, almost nominal: not only were its deliberations secret and its dissent powerless, but Governor Darling systematically and illegally exercised authority in the only matter entrusted to the council — the distribution of the revenues. Towards the close of his administration he introduced a bill indemnifying himself and legalizing his illegal assumptions.

Sir Richard Bourke, on the contrary, earnestly co-operated in raising the character of the council, treated the non-official members with the utmost respect, and endeavored to give the council, as far as possible, the tone and functions of a representative assembly, a course directly the reverse of his successor, Sir George Gipps. Both were able, but the one was a frank and generous, the other an astute and jealous man

It is very much to be regretted that Governor Bourke had not been permitted to govern with as little interference from secretaries of state as Governor Macquarie, and to remain long enough to initiate the partly elective council which fell into the unhappy hands of his successor.

*Bourke's Church and School Act.*

The "Church and School Incorporation," under which one-seventh of the crown lands was devoted to the support of Episcopalian churches and schools, had not worked well, and in 1833 it was dissolved by an order of the king in council. The expenses of management had been very large, the receipts very small, and the results, in the extension of religion and education, insignificant.

In the same year Sir Richard Bourke addressed a dispatch, dated 30th September, in which he propounded principles of religious equality which were afterwards carried into effect by an act of the Legislative Council. This dispatch has had a very important influence on the religious and educational institutions of the colony, and displayed principles much in advance of the traditions of the colonial government.

After stating that the followers of the Church of England were most numerous; that one-fifth of the population was Roman Catholics; that the members of the Church of Scotland were less numerous, but among the most respectable, consisting almost entirely of free emigrants; that the annual charge for the

Church of England amounted to £11,542 10s.; for the Church of Scotland to £600; and for Roman Catholic chaplains and chapels to £1,500; while Protestant dissenters of several denominations, who had formed congregations, "received no support from government beyond some small grants of land for sites of chapels;" that the Church of England possesses seven churches of stone or brick in or within forty miles of Sydney, two in more remote districts, and several less permanent buildings in various places; the Church of Scotland one respectable building in Sydney, and three temporary buildings in country districts, the one church having been built by subscription, aided by a loan from government of £520; the Roman Catholics one handsome church, toward which the government had, at various times, granted sums amounting to £1,200; that the chaplains of the Church of England were provided with glebes of forty acres each, and with houses or lodging-money; that the magnitude of the sums annually granted to the Church of England in New South Wales was a subject of general complaint, and had been the origin of a public meeting and petition numerously signed, praying for a reduction—Governor Bourke proceeded to observe, that, "in a new country, to which persons of all religious persuasions are invited to resort, it will be impossible to establish a dominant and endowed church without much hostility, and great improbability of its becoming permanent; if, on the contrary, support were given, as required, to every one of the three grand divisions of Christians indifferently, and the

management of the temporalities of their churches left to themselves, the public treasury might in time be relieved of a considerable charge, and, what is of more importance, the people should become more attached to their respective churches, and be more willing to listen to the voice of their respective pastors."

He then proceeded to sketch out the plan afterwards carried out by the act which will presently be quoted, and recommended that New South Wales should be created into a separate diocese, instead of being included in that of Bengal.

From the same dispatch it appears that the schools which had been established under the Church and School Corporation consisted of a male orphan school, in which 133 boys were boarded and taught at an annual expense of £1,300, and a female orphan school, in which 174 girls cost £1,500 annually, exclusive of supplies from lands cultivated for the use of the schools.

At Paramatta there was a boarding-school for the wealthier classes, who paid £28 each for boarders, and £10 for day scholars, the head master, a clergyman, receiving £100 a year and the rent of a house.

There were thirty-five primary schools in various parts of the colony, in which 1,248 children were taught, at an expense of £2,756. In all these schools the catechism of the Church of England was part of the instruction.

The Church of Scotland had received a loan of £3,500 towards the erection of the Scotch college founded by Dr. Lang; and £800 had been granted to the Roman Catholic schools.

The governor stated that the disproportionate assistance for education was a subject of very general complaint, and expressed an opinion, "that schools on the Irish system, in which Christians of all creeds are received, where approved extracts from Scripture are read, but no religious instruction is given by the master or mistress, such being imparted one day in the week by ministers of different religions attending at the school to instruct their respective flocks, would be most suitable to the condition of the colony. It would be necessary that the government took the lead in their institution, erecting schoolhouses, appointing well-qualified teachers at liberal salaries." In like manner infant schools would be established in the towns. And he adds, "*I may without fear of contradiction assert, that in no part of the world is the general education a more sacred or necessary duty of the government than in New South Wales.*"

Unfortunately Sir Richard Bourke's successor was so anxious to work out his own abstract theories of legislation, and so busy in battling with the colonists, that he had little time to attend to education.

In 1836 the Legislative Council passed an act, under which, whenever £300 had been raised by private contributions toward the building of a church or chapel, the governor, with the advice of his Executive Council, might issue from the colonial treasury, in aid of the subscribers, any sum not exceeding £1,000.

And for minister of church or chapel with 100 adult attendants, £100 per annum. If 200 adults, £150 per annum. If 500 adults, £200 per annum.

Under special circumstances the governor and council could grant a salary of £100 per annum where the congregation amounted to less than 100.

Where there was no place of worship, £100 might be granted from the colonial treasury if £50 a year were raised by private contributions. Under this act £3,000 a year was divided between the church of England, the Church of Scotland, and the Church of Rome, and recently the Wesleyan Methodists shared part of the grant.

In his attempt to introduce an improved system of education Sir Richard Bourke was defeated by religious jealousies, but the dispatches and act quoted will remain monuments of his patriotism and statesmanship.

The two great events of General Bourke's government were the abolition of the assignment system, and the substitution of sales by auction, at a minimum upset price, for free grants of land.

### *The Pastoral System and the Sale of Land.*

Scarcely second in importance to the discussions on the Church and School Act are the still-continuing contests on the land question, in which Governor Bourke again displayed his foresight and legislative capacity.

By a dispatch dated February, 1831, the colonial secretary instructed the governors of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land to discontinue the grants, and substitute sale by auction at a minimum upset price of 5s. an acre, without any of the privi-



leges in assigned servants which had been annexed to sales at the same rate by Governor Brisbane. And in 1835, Governor Bourke carried through the Legislative Council the act to restrain unauthorized occupation (7. W. IV. No. 4), on which the squatting system is founded; and in the following year he commenced issuing the licences under which two-thirds of the stock of New South Wales and Victoria are now pastured. He did not then contemplate obtaining more than sufficient funds to defray the expenses of the necessary staff, crown-land commissioners and police. There he was much mistaken.

Before the appointment of crown-land commissioners it was common for great settlers to "eat out," as they called it, any small settler, by sending sheep to devour all the pasture for miles round his hut. It took some years to convince the old magnates that they could no longer do as they did in the old days of white slavery and irresponsible government.

By these two measures the character of Australian colonization was completely changed. Their effects will be described in the next chapter.

In 1835, two events occurred which materially affected the colonizing fortunes of Australia. A party of stockowners from Van Diemen's Land, where the accessible pastures had been nearly all appropriated, crossed Bass' Straits, and established themselves on the shores of Port Phillip Bay, on the River Yarra Yarra; about the same time squatters gradually extended their pastures overland, and whalers settled at Portland Bay; and before the government of New

South Wales, within which the unpeopled territory was included under Governor Phillip's commission, acknowledged their existence, many thousand sheep and cattle were feeding over the finest plains that had yet been discovered in the vicinity of a natural port. And these "unauthorized squatters," as they were called in a dispatch, poured into the new land with such rapidity, that the home government was very unwillingly obliged to sanction the measures which had been taken by Governor Bourke.

This spontaneous colonization brought into the market, under the new system, a vast quantity of accessible land, of a very superior quality for both agricultural and pastoral purposes.

At the same time that the Tasmanians were swarming across Bass' Straits, and the pastors of New South Wales were marching overland with their flocks to this and other new lands of promise, in England a commission had been issued, an act of parliament obtained, and a charter granted, for colonizing South Australia, an unexplored tract of land, traversed by a river which the adventurous Sturt had descended and ascended, and had given the name of South Australia.

The history of the rise, the fall, and the revival of that now great and flourishing colony will be found in its proper place; but we must refer to it here only to show how the speculation of the South Australian Company affected the progress of New South Wales and Port Phillip.

The South Australian adventurers were a *camara-*

*derie*,\* who, although ridiculously ignorant of the practical parts of colonization, as they afterwards proved to the sorrow and ruin of thousands, were adepts of the first water in the arts of puff publicity and parliamentary canvass. They knew how to get up a company, float paragraphs, gather great public meetings, fascinate and cram the ablest writers of the press, agitate Parliament, pack a committee, manufacture a case, and bamboozle the public.

Canals and South American mines had been exhausted; railways were not yet sufficiently advanced and yet too much advanced to form the subject of speculation; colonization was a new theme; the ignorance of the public made it an admirable one in the hands of a skillful charlatan like Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the John Law of colonization.

The large fortunes realized in Australia—the stories of convicts with thirty and forty thousand pounds a year—the visits of a few of the sheepowning plutocracy—the flattering accounts of travelers—attracted attention to New South Wales, at a time when, under the influence of the dire calculations of Malthus, and the evil results of the old poor-law system of unlimited out-door relief, the well-to-do English world was oppressed by the nightmare of a surplus pauper population devouring the landholder and fundholder, and reducing the land to one vast, potato-fed poorhouse.

But there were drawbacks in the unsavory name of Botany Bay, and the pickpocket character of its

\* See M. Scribe's comedy of "*La Camaraderie*."

population; in the fearful amount of crime reported by the colonial judges; and, worst of all, in a tariff of wages daily rising, which were exacted by free emigrants, in spite of the anti-wages combination of the old white colonists.

In 1829, an aristocratic adventurer had, with the assistance of a Sydney money-lender, endeavored to retrieve his fortune by obtaining a grant of land, and conducting an army of helpless gentlemen and ladies, with still more helpless clodhoppers, to the banks of the Swan River, in North-Western Australia, where with the worst possible arrangements the worst possible colonists found themselves planted in the most remote corner of an unexplored continent, on a dangerous port, on barren sand with poisonous pastures, and thickets full of hostile savages—land so barren, and pastures so poisonous, that the exertions of nearly half a century, with large assistance from public funds, have not yet enabled Western Australia to pay the expenses of government, or the cost of imports. Port Phillip had more sheep in one year after the first white party landed from Van Diemen's Land, than Western Australia in five-and-twenty years.

The increase of sheep depends not on the terms on which land is sold, but on the condition in which grass grows. If pastures are plentiful, so are sheep; if scanty, poisonous, or wanting in water, they perish as surely as a Wakefieldite colony unpuffed. On the success of New South Wales, and the failure of Swan River, the South Australian scheme was floated.

Give us, said the projectors to the legislature and

the speculative public, the territory we mark on the map ; the right of imposing a sufficient price on the land, and of applying it to the importation of labor ; and we will render labor cheap by the exclusion of laborers from the possession of land, concentrate society, introduce agriculture as scientific as that of Great Britain, in addition to the productions of Spain and Italy, and reap all the profits that have been reaped in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land without the taint of convict labor, or the dispersion of the semi-barbarous squatter ;" and we will produce a state of society so prosperous and so charming, that the neighboring, cheap-priced, convict colonies shall hasten to follow our example.

As they desired, so it was granted to them ; and under "South Australia," we may read how bands of youths and maidens, and old men who had not gained wisdom by their gray hairs, went singing in triumph to sit down in a sandy plain, and spend two years in gambling for town lots and village lots, with their own and with borrowed paper money ; and how they sank into a slough of despondency, and were only saved by resorting to the people and pursuits they had been taught to despise.

But to New South Wales two results arrived through the exertions of the South Australian interest, an interest much more successful in its parliamentary tactics than in its colonizing operations.

First, the sudden abolition of the assignment system and transportation — a righteous act, most rashly performed to the injury of this country and the crim-

inals, to the ruin of Van Diemen's Land, and the great, eventful gain but temporary loss of New South Wales. Secondly, the raising of the price of land from 5s. to £1, and foundation of a grievance, the effects of which, in a moral, social, and political point of view, are far too serious to be easily or rapidly calculated.

It came about in this manner.

When the land of New South Wales was thrown open for sale in unlimited quantities, at a minimum of 5s. an acre, all who had occupied superior land, with or without license, sought to purchase their occupations; many rounded off their grants, and took in large slices of barren land for uniformity, for pasture, or for water. Others who had had neither influence, nor patience, nor time to wade through the dreary forms of the bureaucrats and martinets under Governor Darling, indulged in freehold as soon as it became a mere matter of money. During the first years, from 1831 to 1836, the assignment system was a great encouragement to purchase land, because with convict labor and a commissariat purchaser, and a road-making government, it pays to cultivate agricultural land.

The discovery of Port Phillip brought into the market a greater quantity of good land close to a port than had ever been for sale before. The example of the South Australian land speculators was also infectious, and land speculation, town lots, streets, squares, villages, became the rage.

The news of the avidity with which colonists and

absentees purchased wild land, which the government imagined it had been giving away for many years, soon reached the eyes and ears, and inflamed the palms, of the colonial officials.

None are more slow to spend, or greedy to grasp, than officials. Excellent, admirable, generous men in private life seem tainted by official contact. No sooner does a nobleman or gentleman become invested with an official responsibility than he conducts the business of the nation in a peddling, greedy spirit, which would ruin an English estate, and has ruined many Irish ones. He grasps all, and gives nothing.

Recommend to the lords of the Admiralty or the Woods and Forests the erection of something—a dam, a sluice, a breakwater—that, costing £1,000, will reclaim twenty thousand fat acres, and “my lords have to inform you that they have no funds for such a purpose;” but be so ill advised as to execute works giving value to a whole neighborhood, and then ask my lords to sell a piece of before valueless mud flat, especially if my lords’ influence in Parliament be needed, and the mud becomes, in official eyes, so much solid gold.

In Australian land the Colonial Office thought that it had discovered an exhaustless treasure which could be sold in any quantity, and at any price they chose to fix; just as in 1845, when all the British world was mad on railways, because one or two lines paid £10 per cent., there were parties who believed that the national debt might be paid off by the government purchasing up all railways—a dream unexecuted,

and since dispelled by a universal average dividend of three and a half per cent.

Sir Richard Bourke was one of the few official personages who had the wisdom to comprehend the true uses of colonial land, to appreciate the value of the small farmer as well as the great flockowner, to remain undazzled by overflowings of a treasury filled by the madness of speculating land purchasers, and the courage to dissent from the crotchets of the colonial ministers to which his successor so obsequiously assented.

His dispatches, which we disinter from the voluminous blue books which form the obscure records of the legislative progress of Australia, teem with proofs of his wise conciliatory spirit and sound far-seeing views on questions which at this hour would threaten the connection between the colonies and the mother country, if we were still afflicted of Greys and Stanleys for our colonial ministers, and Gipps' and Darlings for our colonial governors.

In 1834 the Earl of Aberdeen, infected by Mr. Gibbon Wakefield's crotchets and fallacious evidence on the banefulness of dispersion and the possibility of enforced concentration, addressed a dispatch to the Governor of New South Wales, in reference to the efforts then made to colonize Port Phillip, to the effect "that it was not desirable to allow the population to become more scattered than it then was." (At that time the squatting was in its infancy, and not one-third of the country since occupied had been explored.) Sir Richard Bourke replied in a dispatch



dated 10th October, 1838: it would have been well if our Colonial Office had studied and understood the full force of the warning:

“Admitting, as every reasonable person must, that a certain degree of concentration is necessary for the advancement of wealth and civilization, and that it enables government to become at once more efficient and more economical, I cannot avoid perceiving the peculiarities which in this colony render it impolitic, and even impossible, to restrain dispersion within limits that would be expedient elsewhere. The wool of New South Wales forms at present its chief wealth. The proprietors of thousands of acres find it necessary, equally with the poorer settlers, to send large flocks beyond the boundaries of location, to preserve them in health throughout the year. The colonists must otherwise restrain the increase, or endeavor to raise artificial food for their stock. Whilst nature presents all around an unlimited supply of wholesome pasture, either course would seem a perverse rejection of the bounty of Providence. Independently of these powerful reasons for allowing dispersion, it is not to be disguised that government is unable to prevent it. . . . The question I beg leave to submit is simply this: How may government turn to the best advantage a state of things which it cannot wholly interdict? It may, I would suggest, be found practicable by means of the sale of land in situations peculiarly advantageous, however distant from other locations, and by establishing townships and ports, and facilitating the intercourse between remote and more settled

districts of this vast territory, to provide centres of civilization and government, and thus gradually extend the power of social order to the most distant parts of the wilderness."

Oh, that such words of wisdom had sunk deep into the ears of our legislators, and proved antidotes to the charlatan, swindling tricks of those who mapped out and sold, on a flat-paper plan, barren sands, forest-covered, precipitous hills, and rocky, shingly shores!

But, besides home theorists, Governor Bourke had to contend with colonial monopolists in the shape of great land and flock owners, who, forgetting their own or their fathers' original insignificance, grudged every acre and every herd of flock that fell into the hands of hard-working men; for they thought and *said* then, what many of the same class think, although they do not dare to say it now, that it was the duty of working men to work, and not to aspire to independence.

The governor saw through the selfishness of those who considered the colony their patrimony, and was not led away by a cry against the poor men who fed small flocks or a few cattle on wild land. His judicious measures, although less equitably carried out than he planned them, recently produced a revenue of £60,000 a year. He observes (18th December, 1835):

"Another cause to which Judge Burton attributes the prevalence of crime in this colony is the occupation of waste lands by improper persons. *The persons to whom Mr. Burton alludes, familiarly called*

'squatters,' are the objects of great animosity on the part of the wealthier settlers. It must be confessed they are only following in the steps of all the most influential and unexceptionable colonists, whose sheep and cattle stations are everywhere to be found side by side with the obnoxious squatter, and held by better title. . . . I trust I shall be able to devise some measure that may moderate the evil complained of, *without putting a weapon into the hands of selfishness and oppression.* . . ." And again, in September, 1836:

"There is a natural disposition on the part of the wealthy stockholders to exaggerate *the offences of the poorer classes of intruders upon crown lands, and an equal unwillingness to suit themselves to such restraints as are essential to the due and impartial regulation of this species of occupancy.* Of the former disposition I have had ample proof in the result of an inquiry lately instituted as to the number of ticket-of-leave holders in unauthorized occupation of crown land. The dishonest practices of this class of persons in such occupation had been represented as one of the principal evils which required a remedy. I have, however, discovered from the returns of the magistrates, which I called for, that not more than twenty to thirty ticket-of-leave holders occupy crown lands throughout the whole colony, and of these a great proportion are reported to be particularly honest and industrious."

Our next quotation is from a dispatch of General Bourke's dated September, 1837, on the price-of-land question.

The South Australian theorists had already begun to find some difficulty in carrying out their concentrating schemes. They applied, in the person of one of their commissioners (Colonel Torrens), to have the price of land in the neighboring colonies raised to the South Australian level — a most impudent demand, considering the terms on which they first asked to be allowed to try their experiment.

They began by saying, our principles of colonization are so superior that we only ask leave to try them, convinced that other colonies will be but too happy to follow our example. But, when they had obtained permission to cut off their own tails, they next demanded, as an act of justice, that neighboring colonies should be compelled to decaudalize themselves. They particularly objected to the pastoral advantages of Port Phillip, where land was being sold by auction at an upset price of 5s. an acre.

The result of this application to prop up the bubble price of land in South Australia, by affixing the same price to land in Port Phillip and New South Wales, was a dispatch from Lord Glenelg to Governor Bourke, authorizing him to raise the upset price of land if he thought fit. Sir Richard Bourke had the courage not to take the official hint, and gave reasons in detail for adhering to a minimum of 5s. an acre for country land, which the experience of the last fifteen years has amply justified and confirmed :

“ Whatever minimum is fixed there will be found instances in which land acquired at that price without opposition will prove a cheap bargain ; but such is

not often the case. Land even of very inferior quality, happening to possess a peculiar value to the individual purchasing in consequence of its proximity to his other property, finds a sale solely on that account, cannot be considered as cheaply obtained, even at the minimum price. The cases in which land is sold without opposition, from ignorance of its marketable value on the part of the public, or from the secret agreement or friendly forbearance of those otherwise interested in bidding against each other, must diminish yet more and more as the colony advances in wealth and population; nor are such accidents, even if they were more numerous, deserving of such consideration. *It is upon general tendencies and results that all questions of public policy are to be decided.*

"The lands now in the market form a surplus, in many cases a *refuse*, consisting of lands which in past years were not saleable at any price, and were not sought after even as free grants.

"By deciding to dispose of them at 5s. an acre, it by no means follows that they will be sold at a higher rate. The result may be to retain them for an indefinite time unsold, a result more certain in consequence of the alternative at the settler's command of wandering over the vast tracts of the interior. A facility for acquiring land at a low price is the safest check to this practice. The wealthiest colonists are continually balancing between the opposite motives presented by the cheapness of (then) unauthorized occupation on the one hand, and the desire of adding to their

permanent property on the other. The influence of the latter motive must be weakened in proportion to the augmentation of the upset price.

*"It is possible that the augmentation of the minimum price would have the injurious effect of checking the immigration of persons possessed of small capital, desirous of establishing themselves upon land of their own."*

We shall hereafter show that all Sir Richard Bourke's predictions were realized. To this hour, in the midst of settled districts, large tracts of land remain the haunt of wild dogs and varmin, which are no more likely to be worth £1 an acre in twenty years to come than they were twenty years ago.

Sir Richard Bourke seems to have been the only governor, with the exception of Macquarie, who had no free population to act on, thoroughly impressed with the importance of encouraging and protecting, against the prejudices and oppressions of the great settlers, a class of agricultural yeomanry. Since his time, especially under Sir George Gipps, every possible impediment has been thrown in the way of those becoming possessed of freehold farms, who were not rich enough to be great flockowners, but not willing to be mere servants.

### *The Assignment System.*

Another very important event under Sir Richard Bourke was the move towards abolition of assignment, which had previously given settlers servants for both domestic and field work at the mere cost of

clothing and maintenance. He was directed to discontinue the assignment of convicts by a dispatch from Lord Glenelg, dated 26th May, 1837, which took effect in 1840.

In answer to inquiries contained in that dispatch, Sir Richard Bourke stated that from four to five thousand convicts might be profitably employed on public works in the colony, under the control of military officers and non-commissioned officers. He observes, with his usual good sense, "If the abolition of (the assignment of convicts) be resolved on, it should without doubt be *gradual*, as the sudden interruption of the accustomed supply of labor would produce much distress."

The system was suddenly discontinued during the administration of Governor Bourke's successor. Great distress among the colonists did ensue, and there can be no question that tenfold more crime was created and perpetuated by the gang system, which under Lord Glenelg's orders superseded the assignment, than had ever existed in the colony previously.

Undoubtedly the time had arrived when the colony was sufficiently productive and attractive to secure a stream of free emigration. The assignment or white-slave system cannot go on together with immigration of free laborers. The two systems will not work together. The best class of emigrants of any rank, but especially laborers, will not resort to a convict colony. The masters of convicts do not know how to treat free men. In New South Wales it took some years to teach them.

It was not extraordinary that an excess of crime arose. In a population so constituted as that of New South Wales during the existence of the convict system, with such imperfect discipline, such an inequality of sexes, such absence of means for regularly training and educating the rising generation, it is not the amount of native felony that astonishes us, but that it was not universal. God scattered seeds of virtue in the land which the statesmen and saints of the home country forgot, while all their care and cost were spent on barbarous tribes of cannibals, on Hindoos and negroes. The unbaptized child of the white convict grew up with no more training or teaching than the savage he displaced.

The abolition of the assignment system and of transportation to New South Wales, the result of the selfish conspiracy of a party of land-jobbers, was effected in a hasty, ill-considered manner, by the enthusiastic exertions of a number of excellent men, who were overpowered by a "case" cooked in a manner then new to the House of Commons, but now perfectly understood. A change that should have been effected gradually was made hastily, to the serious pecuniary injury, and eventual benefit, of New South Wales and Port Phillip, but to the ruin, social and financial, of Van Diemen's Land, on which alone was poured the stream of felony previously distributed over New South Wales.

But this is one of the questions environed in so much difficulty, that the government of the day were not specially to be blamed. After fifty years' neglect



they were forced by active public opinion to do something. Not knowing how to dilute or deodorize the open drains of human crime which they had been sending through New South Wales for that period, after a series of vain experiments, they ended by turning Van Diemen's Land into one vast overflowing cesspool, ten thousand times more noxious than the evil it was intended to cure.

When Sir Richard Bourke retired — deeply regretted by all the colony, except a small section of prison-flogging magistrates and officials of the true colonial school — New South Wales had attained the highest state of prosperity; Port Jackson was crowded with shipping, bringing free laborers and capitalists, the banks overflowing with money, and the whole population full of the happiest excitement.

The discussions of the Council, although still secret and irresponsible, had assumed a real character, and prepared the way for representative institutions. Restrictions placed upon the summary conviction of prisoners by magistrates, and preparations for the abolition of the assignment system, concurrently with the introduction of free emigrants, by funds derived from the sale of lands, had laid the foundation of a free colony. The colonization of Port Phillip and South Australia by emigrants of a superior class, had done much towards directing the attention of this country to an island which had previously been only considered a receptacle for criminals; while the discovery of vast tracts of fine land in the interior, with an overland communication between the three dis-

tricts, greatly stimulated the increase of live stock, the growth of wool, and the general value of Australian exports. Australians began to think they could walk alone without the aid of convict labor, and the money of the commissariat.

The great event of Sir Richard Bourke's government was the land mania, which, acting and reacting from colony to colony, drove some of the soundest heads to acts of the wildest folly, in which the wealthiest families were involved in ruin, and from the effects of which Australia was eventually relieved by the perpetual increase of flocks and herds feeding on boundless pastures, and tended by the emigrants whom the funds derived from the land mania helped to introduce. He was succeeded by Sir George Gipps.

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## CHAPTER VII.

GOVERNOR GIPPS—1838 TO 1846.

EARLY DISPUTES WITH THE COLONISTS—THE REVENUE—PASTORAL INTEREST—LAND SALES—CROWN PATRONAGE—EMIGRATION—LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL BECOMES ELECTIVE—COMMITTEES APPOINTED—THEIR REPORTS—THE LAND QUESTION.

The appointment of Sir George Gipps was, at the same time, most creditable to the government and unfortunate for the colony. He was, when an officer of engineers quartered in Canada at the time of the rebellion, appointed secretary to a commission with

Lord Gosford, and then wrote and published an ingenious plan for educating colonies to the use of representative institutions, by establishing a kind of municipal government, under the name of District Councils.

At a time when the colony had advanced from the Algerine rule of Phillip, Macquarie, and Darling, to enjoy the externals of a free state ; a legislative council, no longer secret, although not elective ; courts of law regularly constituted ; trial by jury for political offences ; the right of unlicensed printing ; and the liberty, freely exercised, of assembling to discuss political questions — at a time when all the fiery intellect of the colony was burning to acquire the rights of representation and taxation which they had forfeited by becoming colonists, — Sir George Gipps arrived, determined to govern on high prerogative principles ; to carry out the determined plans of his master's and his own preconceived views, however distasteful or unsuitable to the colonies. He was a man whose really great abilities were neutralized by a violent, jealous, over-bearing temper. Inflated with pride, he assumed to unite the characters of sovereign and prime minister, to be the chief of the legislative and of the executive. In the one capacity he framed, introduced, and pressed on his pre-conceived schemes, supporting them with vigorous eloquence of tongue and pen ; in the other, he treated opposition, or even that fair discussion which a British minister would expect and invite, as so much personal insult, almost as high treason. Like a true despot, every political opponent was in his eyes a rebel. He was a vain

man, too, and could not endure that any measure likely to be creditable to the author, or of benefit to the colony, should originate with other than himself.

Evil breeds evil. In proportion as the governor was insolent and despotic, the opposition became unreasonable, factious, virulent.

The temper of a statesman dealing with colonial affairs, is even of more importance than his talents.

The obstinacy of George III. and the insolence of Wedderburne cost us the Americas, a load of debt, an ocean of blood and guilt.

If ever — which heaven forbid — Australia should rise up and violently sever her connections with the British crown, the origin of so dire a calamity may be distinctly traced to the manner in which, with the high approval of Earl Grey, Sir George Gipps insulted and coerced the colonists — forcing, with threats and blows, his legislative shoes on their unwilling feet — shoes of the best Downing-street manufacture, of very handsome shape and capital workmanship, everything in fact but a good fit. One pair crushed the toes, the other pinched the instep, the third cut the heel ; but of what consequence are the cuts, the corns, the blisters of a colonist, so long as the Downing-street manufacturer and his foreman are satisfied with their own work ?

“I think I hear a little bird that sings,  
The people will be wiser by and by.”

Yet Sir George Gipps was not without noble as well as brilliant qualities. His hands were clean ; in a

different sphere, matched and subdued by the even competition of English public life, he might have done himself honor and the state service; but his was a temperament ill-suited for the exercise of powers so absolute as those of a colonial governor—powers which he had acquired without any tedious probation. At one stride he passed from a subordinate military rank to the government of a great province of wealthy and discontented men, having in his hands authority which could make or mar a whole class or a whole district.

Had Sir George Gipps been a man of less mark, or a governor of less power, his faults and foibles should have been buried in his grave; but as he sowed Cadmian seeds of which we may yet have to reap the harvest in armed men, the errors of the man form a part, a most important part, of the history of Australia.

Sir George Gipps was sworn in on the 2d February, 1838.

In 1838 New South Wales, which was supposed, when he was summoned to assume the government, to be in the highest state of prosperity, was already beginning to feel symptoms of the reaction consequent on hasty legislation and over-speculation.

The increasing free population was, not without ample reason, dissatisfied with the form of government, and with the manner in which the Colonial Office in England exercised what, in a sort of mockery, are called the rights of the crown.

It is a curious circumstance, that under either Whig

or Tory government every obnoxious regulation, every discreditable piece of patronage which the colonial minister claims to exercise, is put forward under cover of the sacred rights of the crown.

An ungracious refusal to bestow on some deserving object, at the request of the Colonial Legislature, a few acres of the nation's worthless land, — an insistence in appointing to some office, at an extravagant salary, some English protégé, — are both defended on the plea of "asserting the rights of the crown."

The secret Executive Council, which under Sir Richard Bourke had been converted into a Legislative Council, composed of the salaried officers of the local government, with the addition of an equal number of colonists nominated by the governor, had already nurtured enough of the spirit of independence to occasionally dissent from the views of the home government or the governor.

But Governor Bourke took a colonial view of colonial subjects, and, although he was compelled to enforce some jobbing of colonial money, he maintained amicable relations with his council.

Sir George Gipps adopted a different course. Nothing could exceed the contempt with which he treated colonial opinions, or the implicit obedience with which he carried out the views of the Colonial Secretary of State.

From a host of disputes on every possible question, we select four, which are still matters of contention between the colonies and the mother country :

First, As to the manner in which the price of crown

lands was raised, lowered, fixed, unfixed, and raised again.

Secondly, As to the employment of the revenues derived from the sale and lease of crown lands.

Thirdly, As to the extent to which the colonists were taxed for paying expenses consequent on the transportation system, by the cost of jails, police, &c.

Fourthly, On the manner in which the home government exercised the patronage of the crown — by passing over colonial claims — by appointing unfit persons to exercise responsible offices, and by fixing unreasonable salaries on easy appointments.

These four grievances were discussed on one or more distinct cases. On all, the governor took up the position of high “prerogative” in the most offensive manner, and found his conduct approved and applauded by the home government.

### *The Revenue.*

The revenue dispute in a new shape, but on the same substantial ground, exists to this day — a new form of the old grievance of “*taxation without representation*.”

It commenced in 1832, when Lord Goderich, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, directed Sir Richard Bourke to submit annually to the Legislative Council an estimate of the expenditure proposed to be charged on the colonial revenues. This estimate, if passed by the council, was to be embodied in an ordinance, and forwarded to the home government for his Majesty’s approval. If rejected, the majority

were to be requested to furnish their estimate, and the two were to be forwarded for "his Majesty's approval." With this illusory control, the non-official but nominee members and the colonists were obliged to be content. It was not of much use to object to an estimate that had to travel round the world; and, although they sometimes protested against any particularly scandalous job, their protests were received, and — laid up with other dusty papers.

At that period the administrative powers of the governor had been so far clipped, without addition to the legislative powers of the colonies, that he could scarcely erect a pair of stocks without first reporting to Downing-street, with plan and estimate. No wonder that almost all the non-official party in the colony were republicans.

In 1835 the expense of maintaining the police establishment and gaols was made a colonial charge. Every non-official and two official members of the council protested against this heavy burden, on the ground that these expenses were largely increased by the presence of all the transported felony of Great Britain, either as prisoners or freedmen. To this it was answered, that the colony had had the benefit of their work. However, as a *per contra*, the surplus of the fund derived from the sale or lease of crown land was allowed to be taken to assist the colonial revenues, after defraying the expenses of emigration. The terms of this arrangement or contract, as the colonists assert, are to be found in dispatches with disclosures from Mr. Spring Rice, and from Lord Gle-



nelg, dated respectively 15th November, 1834, and 10th July, 1835.

It is not now worth while to quote or discuss them. The truth seems to be that, while the returns from the land revenue were trifling, the officers of the crown did not care to have the spending of them, having admitted that it was "just and reasonable that the revenues should be applied wholly and exclusively for the benefit of the colony." But when the land revenues rose to hundreds of thousands of pounds annually, the question assumed a different aspect in the eyes of a young but accomplished bureaucrat like Sir George Gipps.

Sir Richard Bourke, after receiving the dispatches in question, believed that the Legislative Council had the complete control of the land revenue. He seems to have been always anxious to extend the legislative powers of the colonies.

Sir George Gipps commenced *what may be called*, to use a slang term of modern politics, his *reactionary course* of policy, by repudiating the assumed contract, in the extract from a dispatch, dated November, 1838; which alone affords a complete key to the favor in which he was held at the Colonial Office, and the detestation in which he was held in the colony :

"It is asserted in the colony that the right to appropriate this revenue was conceded to the governor and council by a dispatch, &c., and that this right was recognized by Sir Richard Bourke. . . .

"*Notwithstanding the strength of these expressions*, I must say that I very much doubt whether, by the

Treasury letter of the 24th September, 1834, it was intended to give up unreservedly and forever, the right to select the objects on which the crown revenue, (viz, from colonial land,) should be expended; and I, therefore, whenever occasion required, maintained, during the last session of the council, that the crown has still power to do so — *feeling that, if wrong in this opinion, I could easily set myself right with the council; but, if I committed an error the other way, I might involve myself in difficulties from which there would be no escape.*"

And he proceeds with great ingenuity to "get up a case" to enable the Colonial Office at home to shear the colonists of the trifling powers recently conceded to them.

This was a very pretty quarrel to begin with, and the governor lost no opportunity of improving it.

Whether the contract existed or not, it is quite clear that the powers claimed and exercised by the governor and the colonial secretary, in the much-abused name of the sovereign, amounted to revolting despotism under a caricature of free discussion.

The colonists were expected to defray the cost of their own government, with all the addition of police and gaol expenses incident to a periodical inoculation of British-grown felony, and, with the sham of a Legislative Council and financial discussions, all sources of revenue, except additional taxation, being removed from their control.

As to the crown or waste lands, the price, the management, the expenditure of the funds arising from

them in emigration, were settled by English commissioners; the surplus was appropriated by the Crown.

The custom-house tariff and the rules for levying it were settled and the officers appointed by the English custom-house.

As to the funds raised by local taxation, the Colonial Secretary, in the name of the crown, created offices, fixed fines, salaries, and appointed officers, without the slightest regard to the wants or wishes of the colonists.

The grievance with respect to the appropriation of the land revenues became more unbearable in consequence of the orders and acts of the home government in respect to the land question, which were in direct opposition to the feelings and interests of the colonists.

In 1842, a representative character was given to the Legislative Council, by introducing into it twenty-four elective members.

It was with this body, while the colony was in a state of insolvency, that Governor Gipp's battles commenced, and were carried on with an ascerbity on both sides which did not breed a rebellion, because the materials in the shape of coërcive powers had not been conceded to the governor.

The new council lost no time in investigating the grievances of the colony, and soon collected a most formidable list, although the most oppressed class of all, the small settlers, were entirely unrepresented.

The revenues, the price of crown lands, the as-

sessments on the pastoral proprietors, the abuses in the exercise of the crown patronage, successively attracted the attention of the opposition, vigorously led by William Wentworth, a gentleman of brilliant talents and great oratorical powers, whose influence was unfortunately impaired by a violent temper and want of taste, the necessary result of a provincial education among men vastly inferior in intellect, and long exclusion from a legitimate exercise of his powers.

Without the evidence extracted by these Legislative Councils of New South Wales, it would be impossible to credit that a government at home, professed to be formed on "reform" and "retrenchment," could perpetrate and maintain powers so oppressive and jobs so corrupt.

But jobbery and despotism seem incident to all corporate bodies which have the control of sea-divided territories. It was impossible to imagine anything worse than the administration of the Colonial Office until the New Zeland Company, composed entirely of pure colonial reformers, was established, and showed in perfection what a colonizing Robert Ma-caire could do with a large capital, a directorate of credulous capitalists, and an array of still more credulous colonists.

The first Legislative Council, which contained twenty-four elected representatives, in addition to the nominees and official members, met for the first time for the dispatch of business, on Thursday, August 3, 1843, and was opened by a speech of Sir George

Gipps. After the delivery of the speech, the council adjourned until two o'clock, when the opposition commenced without delay its long-brooded operations, as shown in "Votes and Proceedings":

"Motion made and question put, 'That an humble address be presented to his excellency, the governor, returning thanks to his excellency for his speech to the council.'

"Moved as an amendment, that the word 'humble' be expunged; passed."

### *The Land Question.*

In August, 1838, Lord Glenelg, who had become infected with the Wakefield theory, instructed Sir George Gipps to substitute 12s. for 5s. as the upset price of ordinary land, observing, "If you should observe that the extension of the population should still proceed with a rapidity beyond what is desirable, and that the want of labor still continues to be seriously felt, you will take measures for checking the sale of land even at 12s."

It is thus evident that at this time the Colonial Office believed that dispersion might be checked and labor cheapened by putting a high price on land — a fallacy which has long since been exploded.

Between 1838 and 1842 Sir George Gipps experimented by repeatedly raising and lowering the price of land. In 1840 and 1841, so far from the increased price of land having checked, it had stimulated dispersion, while labor was alternately dearer than ever, and unemployed.

It was under these circumstances that an effort was made to prop up the insolvent colony of South Australia, by passing, in 1841, an imperial act, which fixed the minimum price of land in the Australian colonies at £1 an acre.

At the period that the elective Legislative Council commenced its labors in 1843, the dissatisfaction of the colonists with the fixed minimum price of £1 an acre had become universal.

The wealthy parties who had expected their free grants, and their purchases at 5s. an acre, to be augmented in value by the increased price, were disappointed ; the speculators who, following the example of the South Australians, had purchased large lots in the hope of realizing large profits, by laying out proper towns and villages, were either insolvent or encumbered with tracts of useless waste land, unsaleable and unprofitable. The class of small settlers were deeply discontented with the impediments thrown in the way of purchasing small farms in good agricultural districts ; while the great pastoral proprietors, who were also most of them landowners in the settled districts, were *worried*—no other word will express the policy of Sir George Gipps—by regulations and restrictions imposed, repealed, and reimposed in a most arbitrary manner, with the view of compelling the purchase of occupation at the ruinous price of £1 an acre.

In the insolvent crisis which followed the land mania of 1837–8–9, live stock was abundantly valueless ; cattle were allowed to rove wild unnumbered on the

hills, and sheep which had cost 30s. a piece were unsaleable at 1s. 6d. ; when it occurred to an ingenious gentleman that an animal whom it would not pay to watch and feed, and whose flesh was worth nothing, might be worth something as tallow. He tried the experiment, and, after some difficulties of a mechanical nature had been overcome, he succeeded in establishing a minimum value on live stock according to the market price of tallow. Flocks and herds became at the worst "good to boil" for so much ; and this is now one of the staple trades of the colony.

The boiling down process suggested a caricature on the struggle between the rebellious squatters, who would not buy land, and the Wakefieldite governor, who was determined that they should. Sir George Gipps, with some of his principal abettors, was represented superintending the operation of a huge cauldron, in which bearded squatters were floating like shrimps, with a huge ladle inscribed "£1 an Acre:" he scoops out a few wretches, and observes, "After all, they won't *concentrate!*" \*

In the same year that the new council met, Lord Stanley's dispatch accompanying the act of Parliament which gave legislative fixity to the land system, which had previously rested on orders in council, arrived in the colony, and damped the expectations of those who had hoped the failure of this panacea in

\*In the dispatches of all the Colonial Secretaries, from Lord Glenelg to Earl Grey, we find instructions which show that they were under the delusion that pastoral dispersion could be restrained by a high price of land.

promoting concentration, regulating wages, and encouraging cultivation, would induce the home government to consult a little more the wishes and interests of actual colonists. Land sales had ceased, the fund for emigration purposes was exhausted, and the pastoral interest found their fortunes already seriously injured by the depreciation of their stock, and threatened with ruin by the personal hostility of a governor aided by irresponsible advisers.

Under these circumstances, the first four committees of the Legislative Council held its sittings, examined witnesses, and made its report. In 1843, 1844, 1845, 1847, and 1848, committees have investigated and reported, always in the same sense, always with an increasing volume of evidence against this vain attempt to regulate wages, protect capital, and force concentration.

The committee of 1843 on "the crown land sales," examined, amongst others, Sir Thomas Mitchell, the celebrated Australian explorer, and engineer of the Bathurst road over Mount Victoria, one of the M'Arthurs, and several landed and pastoral proprietors. They reported that "the act of Parliament under their consideration cannot but be injurious in its operation — that it is calculated to prevent emigration (of small capitalists), to withdraw capital, and to *prevent the permanent occupancy of the soil.*"

In 1844 a "select committee on grievances connected with land in the colony" examined twenty-six witnesses, and received answers to a printed circular of questions from one hundred and twenty-two justices.



The attention of the committee was directed, among other subjects, to the minimum price of land, and to the attempts to harrass the squatters, not being a purchaser of land, by rendering his tenure of crown lands as uncertain and onerous as possible.

All the witnesses who were asked the question, (except Mr. Deas Thompson, the Colonial Secretary, who declined, on the ground of his official character, to give an answer), and all the replies to the circulars, except three, expressed decided opinions against the measure which raised the minimum price of crown land from 5s. to £1 ; all justly taking it for granted that at £1 an acre the purchase of pastoral lands was impossible, claimed fixity of tenure by lease, and right of preëmption for the squatter. The latter was the grand point with the squatters ; that gained, their interest in the land question, except in promoting sales to create an emigration fund, ceased.

The opinions of the three dissentients from the report of the committee exhibit very exactly the feelings of the small class, resident chiefly in Port Phillip and South Australia, who advocate the high price of land.

These three gentlemen are —

John Fitzgerald Leslie Foster, of Leslie Park,  
Melbourne ;

Peter M'Arthur, of Arthurton, Melbourne ;

John Moore Airey, of Geelong.

*Mr. Foster* says very candidly, " I look on the price of one pound as not too much for agricultural land,

and as a prohibition of the purchase of mere pastoral land. *Being both a landholder and a settler*, I would, in both characters, regret to see any reduction in the price, as *it would not only reduce the value of my (purchased) land, but, by rendering it easy for others to purchase my (rented) runs*, would diminish the permanent interest I now hold in them."

*Mr. Moore* thought "the country destined, from its physical character, to become an aristocratic one;" that "the class of emigrants really beneficial to the country, English country gentlemen with some property, but with large families and limited means, would not be deterred by £1 an acre; that a class of small but independent farmers will never be generally adapted to the country; that it will eventually fall into the hands of a landed aristocracy, who, possessing the frontages to water convenient to the residence of tenants, will possess capital sufficient to guard them against the vicissitudes of the seasons, as well as means to cultivate the interior to advantage."

*Mr. Peter M'Arthur* (no relation to the M'Arthur of Camden) "arrived in the colony in 1834, specially introduced to the favor and protection of the governor by the Secretary of State." He recommends that "the governor should have the power to grant twelve thousand eight hundred acres to respectable parties of station and education and capital, and of habits worthy of being imitated by the humbler class;" one thousand acres to be purchased at £1 an acre, payable by instalments in ten years; the remaining

eleven thousand eight hundred to be held on a perpetual quit rent of £12 per annum.

These three gentlemen evidently considered that imperial and colonial interests were bound up in the encouragement of their class, in the protection of their interests, and the keeping down of aspiring yeomanry.

The report of this committee on crown land grievances was the foundation of a fierce agitation on the part of the pastoral interests for the suppression of the obnoxious regulations as to the pastoral occupations, and for fixity of tenure. In this agitation, which was also directed against the £1 acre minimum, the whole colony joined. Public meetings were held in every part of New South Wales; petitions and memorials addressed to the home government were signed, sent to England, and placed in the hands of political men of influence; and influential organs of the English press were enlisted in defence of the great pastoral interest.

The governor stood firm; determined to make war on the squatters, determined to maintain the obnoxious £1 an acre, and to carry out the spirit of the act which imposed it, by throwing, as he was instructed, all possible obstacles in the way of men of small capital investing their savings in land; and he was supported not only by the British Colonial Office, but by the consciousness that, if the squatters succeeded in their demands, millions of acres, including land admirably adapted for settlements and agriculture, would be handed over to them for ever at a nominal rent.

But the colonial public, seeing the injustice of endeavoring to harrass the squatters to their ruin by forcing them to purchase their holdings, lent them a moral support which enabled them, after some years' battling, to obtain a virtual fixity of tenure—a result similar to the copartnership of the giant and the dwarf in Goldsmith's story. The squatters gained all and more than all they could have hoped by ordinances promulgated in 1847, after the retirement of Sir George Gipps; they obtained leases, the right of pre-emption for 320 acres or more at a fixed price of £1 an acre without auction, thus enabling them to secure the finest spot on each run, compensation for improvements at the termination of a lease: their rent was calculated on the capabilities of each run for carrying stock, and on a poll tax which, by being fixed at the minimum rent of 4,000 sheep or 600 head of cattle, effectually *protected* them from the competition of the class of small settlers whom Sir Richard Bourke described as the objects of so much jealousy and unjust persecution by the great pastoral proprietors.

The results of this compromise, which ended a fierce battle, to be renewed at no distant period, are admirably summed up in the report of a "select committee of the Legislative Council" in 1847, over which Robert Lowe, Esq., late fellow and tutor of University College, Oxon, then a practising barrister in the courts of New South Wales, presided as chairman.\*

\* Mr. Lowe has since returned to England, has taken an active and influential part in colonial questions, and become M. P. for Kidderminster.

But the maladministration of the crown lands was not, and is not, the only cause for the chronic discontent of the colonists ; a discontent fostered by the perverse tenacity and insolent defiance of colonial opinions with which a series of colonial secretaries adhered to chamber theories, for the management of an Anglo-Saxon race at the antipodes.

In 1844 a select committee of the Legislative Council investigated and reported on "grievances unconnected with land. The principal of these grievances remains unredressed to this hour.

They complain of being saddled with taxation for a civil list which they were not empowered to discuss, to the extent of £81,000. By the act of 1850 this civil list has been increased to £150,000 a year.

Of the total failure of the "district councils," which created municipalities where the sparse population render popular election and local taxation impossible, and which placed in the hands of the governors the nomination of an officer with powers of local taxation.

Of the want of a "responsible government," the governor being, in fact, merely a subordinate officer of the Colonial Secretary of State for the time being ; and the governor's official advisers in a position which made them practically as independent of the Legislative Council as if they had been merely his private friends. Thus, so long as the governor and his official advisers satisfied the home authorities, the colonists were without a remedy for any illegality committed by the colonial government, however flagrant. As

an instance of the working of the system, the report cites £127,000 applied to various illegal (*not fraudulent*) purposes by the governor, in the course of seven years; and specially "a sum of £15,189 11s. 5 1-4d., expended by the governor, in excess of the appropriations for certain authorized services, and a sum of £30,743 15s. which was not only expended by his excellency, without any authority of the Legislative Council, but a large portion of it was applied, by the governor's mere fiat, to the payment of debentures and other purposes to which the ordinary revenue was not applicable by law."

Thus, in New South Wales, the liberty of talking and taxing themselves was the only liberty allowed the local parliament: they might vote supplies, protest against illegal acts, and, "having protested," as Lord Ellenborough said to Hone, "go about their business."

A fourth grievance was the expense in police, gaols and judicial expenditure imposed upon the colonists by New South Wales being made the receptacle for the felons of England, after it had ceased to derive the profits of the assignment system, and the violation of the (alleged) compact by which, under Sir Richard Bourke, in return for assuming this expense, which had, previous to his time, been paid by the home government, the surplus land revenues and other casual revenues of the crown were ceded to the colonial treasuries.

Under this head the committee claimed the repayment of £881,742 3s. 7d., and for the future, an an-

nual payment towards police, gaols, and courts of asize of £74,195 6s. 8d.

Fifthly, They desired that persons having claims of any description against the local government should, by act, be enabled to have a public officer as nominal defendant.

Sixthly, they claimed that the judges of the Supreme Court should be placed in the same position as to tenure of office and security of salary as belonged to the mother country, and not suspended by the fiat and removed by the report of the governor.

These grievances, so distinctly set forth and vigorously protested against in 1844, had already been the subject of contest with the governor in the first session of the Legislative Council, when the representative members asserted their privileges by cutting down the estimates, and refusing to vote the sums required for police and judicial expenses, in addition to the civil list of £81,000.

But it would be impossible, within any reasonable space to detail the series of overt acts which characterized the sedition-breeding policy of Sir George Gipps.

Session after session it was a game at cross purposes and crooked answers between the representatives of the colonists, the governor, and his patrons in Downing-street. For instance, the colonists propose to reduce the salaries of certain colonial custom-house officers; in the next session of the British Parliament, it is presumed, at the instigation of Governor Gipps, the Colonial Secretary passes a special act; taking that

department from the control of the newly created colonial Parliament.

The colonists propose to spend £9,000 of their own money in building a light-house in Bass' Straits ; they are informed that they must first consult the home government on its situation — a matter of two years' delay.

The colonists pass an act establishing mortgage and register for mortgages on wool ; the Colonial Secretary of State disallows the act as repugnant to the laws of England, without consulting the colonists, and is soon compelled to retrace his steps.

Eventually, after long delay and great loss of property, the home government is obliged to yield and sanction a most valuable colonial institution.

The colonists examine and unanimously protest against the land system established by the Imperial Parliament, and still more unanimously against the ordinances affecting pastoral occupation ; the Secretary of State, without waiting for the arrival of memorials and petitions which, as Sir George Gipps admitted, expressed the almost unanimous opinions of the colonists, hastens to pen in a dispatch " his determination to uphold the land system, and perfect approval of the arbitrary powers exercised by the governor against the squatting interest."

There, again, the home government was afterwards compelled to retreat.

A bill is introduced into the British Parliament for establishing a new system of pastoral occupation — the ex-governor is consulted — the Legislative Coun-



cil are left in ignorance of the provisions of the bill. In fact, the records of the Legislative Council are largely occupied with discussions between the governor and the elected members on every possible subject, the governor constantly adopting a line of defiance, always treating the opposition as if it were rebellion. On the one side were the colonists, on the other the governor, backed by the home government, and concentrating in his own person all power and patronage, supported by the official members, and *the nominees*, who were plainly instructed that, unless prepared to support the governor, "right or wrong," if a governor could be wrong, they must resign.

The ability and integrity of the Colonial Secretaries of State during the administration of Sir George Gipps, and of Sir George himself, are indisputable; but then they insisted on knowing whether shoes fitted or not better than the people who wore, and insisted, too, that they should wear them. Fortunately, the prosperity of the colony did not entirely depend on the crotchets of a colonial minister, or of a governor, although both could, and did, seriously retard its progress.

While the Legislative Council were contesting, inch by inch, the "the elementary rights of Englishmen," the grass was growing, the sheep were breeding, the stockmen were exploring new pastures, and the frugal industry of settlers was replacing and increasing the capital lost by wild speculations.

Before Sir George Gipps retired, in 1846, he was able to announce that the revenue exceeded the ex-

penditure, and the exports the imports, while the glut of labor which followed his arrival had been succeeded by a demand which the squatters termed a *dearth*.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### EMIGRATION.

EFFECTS OF CESSATION OF GRANTS OF LAND—CREDIT DUE TO SOUTH AUSTRALIAN COMMISSIONERS—ANXIETY OF SQUATTERS TO BRING DOWN WAGES—THEIR ALPHA AND OMEGA, TO BREED SHEEP AND GROW WOOL—SEVEN COMMITTEES OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—THE CONTRAST—BOYD—CAMPBELL.

WHEN grants of land ceased altogether, and were superseded by sales, the character of emigration to Australia, and even the motives which directed it, were materially changed. To Australia, previous to 1831, in small numbers, proceeded the same class of persons who by thousands have resorted, during the last ten years, to Canada, and, above all, to the western states of America—families with capital varying from fifty to five hundred pounds, intent on living on land of their own.

The distance, and the then little-known capabilities of Australia would, twenty years ago, have made it, under any circumstances, a difficult task to direct towards its shores a similar stream of colonists; but the new system of so raising the price and the quan-

tity of land, sold so as to discourage the purchases of all but the wealthy, and of devoting the proceeds to the importation of able-bodied laborers for their use, altered the whole character of the free colonization. The new system was not without merits as a temporary expedient, adopted in order to supply, as rapidly as possible, the demand for shepherd servants occasioned by the abolition of the assignment system, and to people the shores of the newly settled districts in Port Phillip and South Australia. But as a permanent measure, the moral and social defects were, and are, very serious.

By the emigration land-fund system, the parent state is relieved of a certain amount of (surplus ?) labor without expense, and the colonies are supplied with the same, in proportion to the amount received for the purchase or rent of land. According to the principles of the system, those who are rich enough to purchase or rent land (the minimum of rent being 4,000 sheep) have a right to dictate what manner of labor shall be supplied for the money. The sort of laborers who suit the employers of labor are not often those who would contribute most to the intelligence and education of a colony. For a long series of years the Australian flockowners' *beau-ideal* of an emigrant was an able-bodied single man from an agricultural county — humble, ignorant and strong.

The South Australian Commissioners exhibited one half-pennyworth of sense amid gallons of nonsense and jobbery by introducing the system of *pairs* of both sexes. This was the one good feature in their system.

The Australian squatters, and all persons more or less in communication with, and able to influence, the home government, like our own agricultural and the American manufacturing interest, held two very strong opinions — first, that their pursuit was the only calling of any consequence to the state; and, secondly, that it could not be protected too much. They always wanted labor, and it could not be too cheap.

We find them constantly desiring to bring down wages to a level, which, if reached, would have very soon put a stop to all emigration, for it would have been lower than in England, and that was not worth crossing the sea to earn. We find them constantly desiring to dictate what class of laborers they would have, and that class specially in reference to sheep. We find them depreciating, not untruthfully, perhaps, but untruly, the character of the Australian soil and of the Australian agricultural settlers. To them the Alpha and Omega of the Australian colonies was — breed sheep, to grow wool and tallow.

They succeeded to a certain point. Even when claiming a return to a low price of land, many desired to keep up the size of lots, so as to exclude small farmers from freehold.

The result we now see. For fifteen years the agents of the colony and the emigration commissioners have been recruiting and sending out emigrant recruits. Their most successful operations have been conducted in times of distress in the home labor market. The fund in the early period of the system down to 1839, when all the colonists were madly engaged

in nodding at the government continental land sales, was sufficient to pay the passages out of fifty thousand emigrants. For a time the market was apparently glutted, but the increase of stock, and the judicious measures introduced by Catherine Chisholm, the only individual who has ever brought practical talent to bear on colonization, soon absorbed them. Soon arose an increased demand for labor. The land fund was dried up; the sales were few and far between, except in the copper-mining colony of South Australia; but by degrees the rents from pastoral occupations of crown lands became so large that security was found for an emigration debt, to which was added, from time to time, the produce of sales of town and suburban, and, as the population increased, occasionally of special lots of rural land. But it occurred more than once that when labor was needed in the colony, there were no funds, and, when funds were forwarded to England, that the commissioners found a difficulty in collecting suitable emigrants.

Indeed, until the discovery of the gold fields, very few, except the utterly destitute among the laboring classes, turned their attention to Australia.

The regulations of the emigration commissioners, as prescribed to them by the pastoral interest, excluded families as much as possible, and so virtually it became the office of the commissioners to transmit "pairs of paupers."

Thus all classes were taught to look on a free passage to Australia as a sort of pauper relief; and the aristocratic representatives, although often discontent-

ed with their bad bargains supplied by the commissioners, were always anxious not to have emigrants who would be "too independent." Thus, although the emigration land system had the effect of rapidly transplanting many thousand pauper souls, it has also had the effect of discouraging the emigration of the working class above the condition of paupers, just as a lax poor-law increases pauperism, and of excluding those in whom the domestic affections and social virtues were strongest.

The large number who emigrated under the auspices of the emigration commissioners were isolated units who could seldom read or write, or, if they could, were unable to find any easy means of communicating with their friends, of transmitting money, or paying the passage of a parent, a wife, or a child.

The true interest of a parent state, in regard to such prolific, life-sustaining colonies as the Australian, is to promote colonization by industrious families of all classes: their calling is of no consequence, so long as they are able and willing to support themselves.

But it has been the policy of our government to maintain a pauperizing system for the mere purpose of supplying pastoral proprietors with hired servants.

There is a very close connection between the various degrees of the laboring classes, and that is a suicidal course of colonization which gathers up only the poorest and least respectable, and offers inducements to those inclined to emigrate to affect pauperism, if they do not endure it.

There is no reason why a public fund should pay

the passages of emigrants than that it should find work or provisions. Committees on emigration were appointed by the Legislative Council in 1839, when the bounty system was in operation, in 1842, in 1843, and in 1845; and in 1843 and 1844, committees on the "distressed laborers" of Sydney collected important evidence bearing on the same subject. It is worthy of remark that these, as in committees appointed by the British Parliament, witnesses have seldom been called from among the respectable mechanics and laborers, who are most interested in emigration, and best acquainted with the emigrating classes.

The committee of 1839 reported that emigrants were being introduced at the rate of 12,500 souls a year, at a cost of about £17 per adult, expressed a decided preference for bounty over government emigrants, and recommended a loan to be raised on the security of the land fund, and devoted to emigration a bounty at £19 a head for adults only, *excluding children*, and *very humbly* prayed that the crown would devote the land fund, which they calculated at not less than £150,000 a year, to emigration purposes. It is curious to remark that the committee object to the introduction of emigrants over forty years of age. The government emigration agent had invited emigrants of fifty years of age. The gold discoveries have recently enlightened the pastoral interests to the value of parents of even sixty years of age.

In 1842 the committee repeat their preference for

the bounty system, announcing that in the preceding twelve months 23,000 emigrants had been introduced, and the cessation of emigration in consequence of the falling off of the land fund, to an extent unexpected by the home government. They gently hint at the propriety of a reduction of the price of land to 5s. an acre. The tone of the document is that of a respectable nominee council.

The committee of 1843 represented the wealthy squatting class, and the majority took an entirely colonial and pastoral view of the labor question. They wanted shepherds as quickly and as cheaply as possible, and nothing else. No seven-shilling-a-week farmer — no cottage-destroying landlord — no unlimited time-labor manufacturer — no woman-employing coal-worker — could have taken a narrower view of the question.

There is unfortunately in all of us a fund of selfishness which, when unchecked by public opinion or political opposition, is apt to grow into injustice and tyranny. In private life, many of the squatters were excellent, generous, hospitable men; but one large proportion had been accustomed to convict servants, who cost nothing beyond their board and lodging, and another consisted of young bachelors of capital, who arrived in the colony to make a fortune, intent on returning to the old country as soon as it was made.

The one despised and the other were indifferent to the opinions of the working classes. Both dreamed of naturalizing in Australia the miserable wages of



the southern counties of England and the highland counties of Scotland.

To resist the aggressions of Sir George Gipps on the pastoral interest the squatters formed themselves into a protective association, and by an easy process the association, founded to resist unjust confiscation and taxation, branched off into a combination for permanently lowering the wages of the colony. At the head of this association was the late Mr. Benjamin Boyd. Mr. Boyd arrived with the express purpose of making investments at the time (1841) that the colony was in a general state of insolvency, or, as he expressed it, "in a gam." A yacht of the Royal Squadron, an apparently unlimited capital, an imposing personal appearance, fluent oratory, and a fair share of commercial acuteness, acquired on the Stock Exchange, at once and deservedly placed him at the head of the squatocracy. His aim was the possession of a million sheep; he was the chief of the hundred thousand sheepmen, with whom he combined to obtain fixity of tenure for their sheep pastures, to put down small settlers, and to reduce wages.

At the period we are describing, from 1841 to 1844, the colonial labor market presented the most curious contradictions. The bounty agents were pouring in a crowd of most unsatiable persons, who, once landed, were soon left to shift for themselves. Among the merchants of the town of Sydney distress prevailed, consequent on the cessation of building and other works, and wages were depressed to a rate before unknown, and newly-arrived immigrants were astonished

at the low wages offered, so different to the flaming representations of the crimps by whom they had been collected. But in the country districts, and especially in the bush, where sheep and cattle were breeding, while their proprietors were going through the insolvent process, wages were maintained; and the anomaly was presented of large bodies of men being employed at the expense of government, at high wages, on a sham labor test, while flocks were wanting shepherds in the interior. Several causes supported this anomaly: 1st, There was no government machinery for distributing newly-arrived emigrants; 2nd, the preference of the squatters for single men left families on the hands of the government; 3rd, the squatters' club were not sorry to see the government embarrassed by the presence of a large body of unemployed laborers in Sydney; 4th, the dishonest conduct of certain masters in withholding or unfairly deducting wages promised had given the bush a bad name; 5th, many of the emigrants were of a class who, having left parish aid behind, liked to keep close to government rations and wages. All were engaged, as far as their shortsighted views would permit, in killing the golden goose of colonization.

Mr. Boyd's evidence before the immigration committee of 1843 affords, when read with the notes we can supply, a fair specimen of the haughty, gentlemanly, selfish class he represented.

He had been eighteen months in the colony, and was employing two hundred shepherds and stockmen, besides artificers. He was building a town and port

at Twofold Bay; had two steam-boats, and a schooner yacht, the *Wanderer*. He had devised the scheme of saving labor, by putting three thousand sheep instead of eight hundred under the charge of one shepherd.

He despaired of the prosperity of the colony "unless the wages of a shepherd could be brought to £10 a year, or about 3s. 10d. a week, with meat and flour, without tea and sugar." The two last had been previously universally allowed; but he expressed his intention of doing away with them, "being of very questionable utility and necessity, although such is the waste and extravagance here that 8 lbs. of tea and 90 lbs. of sugar are consumed per head." He states, further, that he "had no difficulty in engaging shepherds at £10 with these rations, but much difficulty in getting men engaged at these low wages forwarded to stations, as they were generally picked up on the road." "Any money advanced towards traveling expenses was usually spent in public-houses;" and it is his decided opinion that "more than £10 a year only does harm to shepherds, by sending them to public-houses."

My Boyd also mentioned how he had kindly given a free passage to Twofold Bay, distant 600 miles from Sydney, to one hundred laborers out of employ. He did not mention that, on their arriving there, those who refused to accept £10 wages were refused a passage back for less than £5; and that, while a few strong men walked back over the mountains, those who remained created such a feeling in the country

that Mr. Boyd could not venture to visit his stations until the time of the year when the police magistrate, with a guard of policemen, took his annual round.

Fortunately all squatters were not like the Boyd clan, and the productiveness of the land defeated the combination: had it been otherwise, a very few years would have produced a servile war of men against masters.

From the Boyd clan proceeded stories founded on fact, and dressed to suit a purpose, about allotments of land sold for quarts of rum, champagne drunk in buckets by shearers and shepherds, who insisted on having pickles with their (measled?) pork.

Another order of men, chiefly permanent colonists, residing on their own property, were represented by Mr. Charles Campbell as employing from fifty to sixty shepherds and watchmen. "He had been obliged, by the pressure of the times, to reduce his old servants to £18 for shepherds and £16 for watchmen, and had not found them so reluctant to accept the reduction as he expected. He would hardly like to see wages lower." He thought a great oversight had been committed by settlers in neglecting to form villages on their estates. He says, "Many of those who now complain of want of employment in Sydney might have been comfortably settled up the country in small villages, containing from ten to twelve men, heads of families, in various callings. In the present state of things we employ, at sheepshearing and reaping, men who wander through the country, from one place to another, in quest of occasional employment.

Many of these are handy, clever fellows, but unmarried, and of irregular and dissolute habits. All these men earn is frequently spent in the first public-houses they come to after leaving the station where they have been employed. If, instead of employing men of this class, the flockmasters and landholders had invited married emigrants to settle in small villages, by allowing them land at a low rent, and not attempting to monopolize their labor, permitting them to choose their own employer in the neighborhood, we should have our reaping, mowing, and shearing done at a cheaper rate; and the emigrants, by means of the money made during the busy season, added to their earnings, would maintain their families well, and their children, from not being scattered, might have opportunities of learning to read and write, and of receiving religious instruction. Many would in a few years become small farmers — first as tenants, then as landholders, and, in either capacity, would increase the demand for labor."

This was sound sense in Charles Campbell, as contrasted with the sound selfishness of Benjamin Boyd; but although afterwards enforced and illustrated with a large collection of facts gathered by the one great colonial reformer produced by Australia, yet 1851 found the pastoral interests as ill provided with permanent labor as 1843. The selfish maxims of Mr. Boyd's Bent's sheep club prevailed after the ruin and death of the founders. The successful efforts to retain sheepwalks as walks only to encourage the growth of sheep, and discourage the rearing of children, found

Australia, when the golden revolution broke out, largely dependent on wandering shepherds, bound by no ties, either moral or local, social or domestic, to the district, in the land of which they had no share. Even at this hour shortsighted successors to the Boyd policy are contemplating the forging of legal bonds to retain the unwilling services of cheap shepherds, hired in Europe—anything rather than give up a share in their land monopoly, although it is melting from their grasp.

But while the governor, well backed by the Colonial Office, was deep in the contest which killed him and deceived thousands—while the bounty crimps were pouring in their miscellaneous collections to work or saunter, or, if women, walk the streets—while the squatters, losing sight of the just half of their claim, were factiously obstructing all government, and ready to ruin the bodies and souls of shepherds to save wool—one individual appeared, unencumbered with colonizing theories, undebased by any mercenary objects, laborious in collecting facts, diffident in expressing new opinions, prepared to learn, willing to teach, and anxious to be useful to all conditions of men—Caroline Chisholm, the greatest, the only practical reformer and worker in colonization of the age, who will be remembered and blessed by thousands, following their flocks and cultivating their farms in Australia, when the names of the land-jobbers and charlatans of the “sufficient-price school,” the false “protectionists of colonial capital,” are forgotten.

## CHAPTER IX.

### CAROLINE CHISHOLM.

NEGLECTED STATE OF EMIGRANTS—SHE FOUNDS THE "HOME"—TRAVELS THROUGH THE BUSH—DISTRIBUTES SERVANTS AND WIVES—HER BOOK—COLLECTS VOLUNTARY INFORMATION.

MRS. CAROLINE CHISHOLM arrived in Sydney in 1839, with her children and husband, Captain Archibald Chisholm, of the Madras army, who had been making a tour of the Australian colonies during a limited sick leave. On returning to India he decided to leave his family in New South Wales.

Soon after their arrival, during the first crash of insolvency of 1839, some Highland emigrants, who spoke no English and had large families, found difficulty in obtaining employment. A little money lent them by Captain Chisholm to purchase tools, and a little useful advice, set them up as woodcutters, and they prospered; and, having seen the neglected state of the bounty emigrants, he pointed them out to his wife as fit objects for her charitable zeal and energy. There is a wonderful freemasonry among the poor, and by degrees Mrs. Chisholm's rooms were crowded by emigrants seeking advice. But it was the unprotected position of female and often friendless emigrants that most awakened her warm sympathies. She commenced her *work* in the literal sense of the term, by at the same time gathering information and acquiring the confidence of the working classes.

At that period she found young women who had emigrated nominally under the care of friends, but really under that of strangers, at the instigation of the bounty agent, without home, some lodged in tents with companions of indifferent character, others wandering friendless through the streets of Sydney; many who, having been collected in rural districts, knew more of cows and pigs than housework, if engaged in town, soon lost their situations when superseded by more accomplished servants from ships which arrived daily.

Some of these poor creatures slept in retired nooks out in the public gardens and in the rocks, rather than face the contamination of the streets. The total number of respectable females unemployed in Sydney at one time in 1840-1 accumulated to six hundred.

There were other and more serious evils attendant on emigration, as then conducted, than the condition of the emigrants on landing. A considerable number of females of notoriously bad character were sent out in the bounty ships for whom bounty was never claimed; the Emigration Board sat in Sydney merely to apportion the bounty; the utmost punishment they could inflict was to stop the passage-money due to the agents. So long as the emigrants were delivered in good health, and within the standard, there was neither tribunal nor organized opinion which could be brought to bear on any of the parties connected with the mercantile transaction. If duly invoiced, the bill for the live lumber was paid, while damaged goods were rejected. In some ships the immigrants were



deprived of their fair share of provisions, insulted and assaulted by the crew, even by the officers, and otherwise abused. In others unrestrained intercourse took place between the officers, the crew, and the female passengers. In more than one instance the captain or surgeon selected pretty emigrants for companions during the voyage, and even during their stay in Sydney.

On arrival in harbor, not only were single gentlemen allowed to choose housekeepers on board, but notorious brothel-keepers regularly visited the emigrant-ships. The captain and surgeon could not know them, and had no power to impede them if they did. There was no government officer on board to superintend the contracts or protect the emigrants; and thus, while women fell into the hands of seducers and harlots, there were a certain number of keen hands, with whom few in the colony would deal without a lawyer, who skimmed the cream of the labor from the ship on terms of very sharp practice.

All these things oozed out in England among the emigrating classes, and made, and continued to make, long after they were to a great extent remedied, emigration very unpopular; but no one cared or dared to take up the obnoxious and ungenteel position of the emigrant's friend in Sydney.

The colonists had not then learned that the cheapest and most powerful mode of colonizing is to make the working colonists content.

Mrs. Chisholm had courage and foresight. She began by appealing to the press and to private indi-

viduals on behalf of the poor destitute girl immigrants. At first she met with much discouragement, a few civil speeches — no assistance.

The most imperious section of the employer class saw no advantage from the protection of the employed. The officials foresaw more work, some supervision, and no increase of pay. The Roman Catholics, as soon as they found it was to be a universal, or to use the Irish term, a "godless," scheme of practical philanthropy, and not sectarian and proselytizing, opposed it vehemently. A dignitary of that church wrote a letter to a newspaper, in which he termed Mrs. Chisholm a lady laboring under amiable delusions. At the same time the Protestants raised the cry of "No Popery!"

But she pressed on her plan of a "Home," and when almost defeated was nerved to determination by the sight of a Highland beauty, "poor Flora," (whom she had last known a happy, hopeful girl) drunken, despairing, contemplating, and hastening to commit, suicide.

She offered to devote her time gratuitously to a "Home of Protection," and to endeavor to procure situations for the emigrant girls, unengaged and out of place, in the country, — an offer which was eventually accepted, after "she had given an undertaking and an understanding not to put the government to any expense." On obtaining this concession she issued the following circular, which will give an example of that practical business talent to which she owes her success, not less than to her genuine philanthropy and many-sided talents: —

"JAMIESON-STREET, SYDNEY, October 21st, 1841.

"Sir, — I am endeavoring to establish a 'Home for Female Immigrants,' and have little doubt but funds will soon be raised to enable me to accomplish this; and, as my first object is to facilitate their obtaining employment in the country, I shall feel obliged if you will favor my intention (should you *approve* of the same) by giving me the information I require regarding your district; and any suggestion you may think useful will be considered a favor.

"1st. Whether girls who at home have merely been accustomed to milk cows, wash, and the common household work about a farm, would readily get places? at what wages? and how many do you think would in the course of the next two years be required?

"2nd. Good servants, such as housemaids and cooks, the rate of wages? and the probable number required for the same period?

"3rd. Married couples with small families, say two or three children, ditto.

"4th. Could employment and protection be found for boys and girls from seven to fourteen years of age?

"5th. Have you had opportunities of observing if the young women can save any part of their wages? for they are generally of opinion that nothing can be saved in the country, every article of wearing apparel being so much dearer than in town.

"6th. What would be the cheapest and best way of conveying the young women to your district?

"I have to observe that the servants will be classed according to their qualifications, and distributed fairly, so that those who are absent will have an *equal chance* of getting a good servant with those who are present. Subscribers of £1 will have servants selected and sent to them without any trouble; it will, however, be necessary that an order should be sent to cover the expense of their conveyance.

"I require, by donations, to raise what will furnish a house; and, by subscriptions, I expect to support the institution. I am of opinion that, when families in the interior can get servants sent them, we shall not hear of young women suffering distress and losing character for want of a situation. I shall feel obliged if you will favor me with a reply by the 10th of November next.

"I have taken the liberty to annex a subscription list, and I shall

feel obliged if you would leave it in the hands of some person to receive subscriptions, and acquaint me with the name, that it may appear in the papers."

It was in reply to one of these circulars that the Rev. Henry Styles, of Windsor, the chaplain to the Bishop of Australia, an honest opponent, wrote:—"I fully appreciate the zeal and charity in your endeavors to establish the 'Home for Female Immigrants.' My only reason for declining to coöperate in a design which at first sight appears so entirely laudable is, that it is natural to suppose that an institution established by a lady who is a devoted member of the Catholic Church, which renders allegiance to Rome, should prove rather an instrument for augmenting the numbers of that communion, than merely what its name imports—a home for all destitute female immigrants, without respect to their religious professions. The result would be, that the immigrants in your 'Home' would be *advised*, *restrained*, and *protected* by the clergy of the Church of Rome." After thus expressing himself, the reverend gentleman replied minutely to every question in the circular.

Mrs. Chisholm's answer to this plain and proper letter produced a second letter from Mr. Styles, in which he said, "Your frank and straightforward avowal of the objects you aim at, and the means you will use for their attainment, disarm suspicion. The assurance in your note that you will not be led by the agents of any ecclesiastical party, but that you will pursue steadily the good of the whole of the emigrants who may come under your care, referring in

matters of religion to their respective clergy and teachers, induces me to offer you very cordially whatever support I am able to afford. I beg to enclose £2 as a donation."

Eleven years have elapsed since this correspondence took place. Proselytism and propagandism are not to be done in a corner; for every day during that period Mrs. Chisholm has almost lived in public, yet no case of misuse of her influence has ever been brought against her, or any open charge, except by that unhappy Ex-Presbyterian, Dr. Lang, whose admirable talents, neutralized by envy, jealousy, and reckless mendacity, have chequered every year of his life by actions for libel and defamation. But from time to time whispers are circulated by those who, professing a love of civil and religious liberty, exhibit sentiments more in accordance with those of the men who burned Wicliff and Servetus than the nineteenth century and the atmosphere of England.

The government building appropriated to the "Home" consisted of a low wooden barrack fourteen feet square. Mrs. Chisholm found it needful for the protection of the characters of the girls to sleep on the premises. A store-room seven feet square, without a fire-place, and infested with rats, was cleared out for her accommodation; there she dwelt, eating, drinking, and sleeping, dependent on the kindness of a prisoner employed in the adjoining government printing office for a kettle of hot water for tea, her only luxury; and there she laid the foundation of a system to which thousands owe their happiness in this world

and the world to come—saved from temptation to vice, and put on the road to industrious independence ; a system which, if fairly carried out, would save and civilize a great empire from the pollution of nomadic money-earning and unsocial profusion—from the rule of a plutocracy and the horrors of a servile war.

Following the example of our greatest philosophers in every branch of science, Mrs. Chisholm was as careful and eager to collect facts as slow to publish grave conclusions. If she claimed publicity, it was not to propound a complicated theory, but to attack some flagrant abuse.

The first party of girls collected within the “Home” amounted to ninety, whom Mrs. Chisholm protected from open insult, covert seduction, and the evil influence of black sheep, inevitably admitted at times, while seeking to obtain them employment. The difficulties were great, the annoyances most wearying. The girls were many of them ignorant and awkward, others too pretty, and others again too proud and idle to work ; but she never gave them up while there was hope and a good heart.

She says in her first pamphlet, “If I had entered the office expecting grateful thanks from all, I should have seen in a week my folly ; but, having a very fair knowledge of human nature, I was aware that to be able to do a good I must be prepared to encounter certain disagreeables. I did *not* start expecting to please all, but intending to be just and fair towards all.”

As for the mistresses, she told them in print,—prob-

ably the first time so wholesome a truth had been so plainly stated,—that “the assignment system of convict servants had spoiled them a little—it will take some time to teach them,” she observes, “that they have lost a little *power*, or, in fact, that they must bear and forbear;” “an English servant would not like the *ration* and *lock-up system*, and would expect domestic comforts not common in Sydney” — “many of the mistresses are apt to take the law into their own hands.”

These statements were unpleasant to make and unpopular; but they worked a cure, which if not effected would have damaged the character of the colony in the home country.

The general public, as distinguished from the official class, when they understood the nature of the plans Mrs. Chisholm was engaged upon, responded very liberally to her appeal for assistance. But before they gained confidence in her plans the “Home” became crowded with a number of girls more fit for rough country work than town service. There was no machinery extant for distributing them: she determined to avail herself of the information supplied in answers to her circulars, and to send them into the country. The first dray that came to the door was sent away empty: frightened with foolish ‘board-ship stories of blacks and bushrangers, not one girl would go. A second attempt, the first failure having been kept a secret, was successful. Mrs. Chisholm at her own risk and expense took a party up the Hunter River district by steamboat: the enterprise was con-

sidered so Quixotish by her friends that, as she sat on deck in the centre of her troop of girls, no one of her acquaintance dared to expose himself to the ridicule of owning acquaintance by offering any refreshment.

The enterprise succeeded, the girls were well placed in the families of often humble but always respectable married people, and competent committees were induced to undertake the charge of "Branch Homes" in the interior. The bush journeys were repeated with parties of young women, varying from sixteen to thirty, who were conveyed to Campbell Town, Maitland, Liverpool, Paramatta, Cross Roads, and Port Macquarie—Yass, Gundegai, Murrumbidgee, Goulburn, and Bathurst—where she went from farm to farm, scrutinizing the characters of the residents before she trusted them with "her children."

The settlers came forward nobly, and supplied provisions, horses, and drays; the inns universally refused payment for Mrs. Chisholm's personal accommodation; and the coaches, a most costly conveyance in Australia, carried her sick women and children free. Mr. William Bradley, a gentleman born in the colony, a member of the Legislative Council, gave an unlimited credit to draw for anything for the use of the emigrants—of which she was not obliged to avail herself, so liberally did the colonists of the interior come forward.

Very soon the fathers, brothers, sons, and husbands claimed the same care, and asked to be permitted to form part of her parties. Her journeys became longer and her armies larger: 147 souls left Sydney, which



increased on the road to 240, in one party, in drays and on foot, Mrs. Chisholm leading the way on horseback. She established a registry office for servants, where names could be inscribed and agreements effected on fair terms gratuitously: she drew up and printed *a fair* agreement, of which the master took one, the servant one, and one was filed. The result of this registration was to extinguish litigation as far as regards servants engaged at the "Home." Out of many thousands only two were litigated. Yet in the course of her experience, before she stirred in the matter, and for want of *agreements* and speedy justice, fifty-one cases occurred up to 1843 of wages unjustly detained or taxed. For the first time the emigrant found a "friend."

The abuse of power by captains, and the immorality of the inferior sort of surgeons, at that time engaged in the Australian trade, were checked by a prosecution which she compelled the governor to institute against parties who had driven a girl mad by their violence.

When Sir George Gipps, hesitating, said, as officials will say, "A government prosecution is a very serious matter," she answered, "I am ready to prosecute: *I* have the necessary evidence, and if it be a risk whether *I* or these men shall go to prison, I am ready to stand the risk. That trial established a precedent and checked the abuse.

By the end of 1842 Mrs. Chisholm had succeeded in placing comfortably two thousand emigrants of both sexes, and then, when slowly recovering from

the effects of a severe illness brought on by her exertions, she published the remarkable letter or report to which we have before alluded.

It is a collection of notes and memoranda, interspersed with pithy remarks and pathetic and comic sketches from real life—a valuable contribution to the art of colonization, and a literary curiosity. It was an outspoken book; it did not mince matters—as, for instance, in the following passage, which went far to kill the bounty system, and so, although people were shocked, the evil was abated:—“One girl, long known at Liverpool as the *Countess*, arrived per ship; the last time I saw her was on a Sunday; she had evidently started in the morning, with an intention to look interesting either at St. James’ or St. Mary’s, for her book was in her hand; but she had taken a glass by the way, and was so far aware of her state that she retired to the domain. I saw her fall twice. Now people express their astonishment ‘that English girls are not sent out.’ We will suppose that some Liverpool families are meditating this step, and, in their anxiety to obtain all information, they learn that the *Countess* is missing—has left for Australia (by a bounty ship). They condemn all for one—they shrink with horror from sending their daughters where the *Countess* is received—they are strangers to all on board, therefore all suffer for one—I wish particularly to call attention to the injustice done to girls of good character by a case of association, and not a solitary one like the one I have stated. Again, in Sydney, the character of the *Countess* is known in

less than two hours, and the girls of good character in the same ship suffer."

In this "*Countess*" story was the germ of one great feature of Mrs. Chisholm's Family Colonization Society — protection for single girls.

In 1843, before a committee of the Legislative Council, which was appointed to consider the condition of the "distressed laborers," and especially of three hundred parties with large families whom, in the depressed condition of the colony, the settlers could not afford to engage, Mrs. Chisholm took another step forward. She proposed, and entered into, the details of a plan which, at a very trifling expense would have placed these three hundred families in a self-supporting position on land, instead of continuing to receive 3s. a day for nominal labor on government works.

Sir George Gipps' instructions precluded him from granting or *leasing* of crown land for this valuable, or any other, purpose, except feeding sheep. As he expressed it, "he was sent out to carry out the Wakefield system," and could turn neither to the right nor to the left. Nevertheless, on private property, on clearing leases, Mrs. Chisholm succeeded in placing some families of mechanics.

In the course of her examination it appears that the government had then expended £2,500 in casual relief. For £1,000 she considered the whole distress could be extinguished, and the people not only removed, but placed where they could do some good for themselves. "The distress will increase unless

proper measures are taken, but if they are promptly taken they will not be very serious." There are several "trades mentioned in the list that are not required; for instance, I have only had two applications for shoemakers; for tailors, four. The number stated to be unemployed is forty-seven. About twenty months ago forty tailors came to me out of employ. The flockmasters refused to take them as shepherds. With a great deal of trouble I scattered them through different parts of the country as domestic servants, and in other capacities; and it is remarkable that nearly all thus scattered have been able to find work at their own trade. With respect to tradesmen and laborers with large families, *there is no way in which they could provide for their families so well as on a piece of land.*

"My first arrangement would be to select from fifty families one who was a good judge of land, and one of the women, as women would require to know what kind of a place they were going to, whether the children would be comfortable, &c. I should also require two or three good bush hands (prisoners) from Hyde-park Barracks. With these, as soon as arrived on land, I would set to work to clear half an acre, in order that the people might see what could be done in a given time. There must be some tents provided until more substantial buildings could be erected. One allotment must be set apart as a family allotment, to be first cleared and cultivated, to supply food for the whole community. Then the land must be divided and apportioned to the different families.

A schoolmaster will go with the party, to have land rent free. The parents of the children have agreed to pay for the education of their children, the terms settled by me. One day's labor per quarter for each child, and for the whole family 1 cwt. of potatoes and one bushel of wheat.

"I have worked this plan on a small scale for the last three years, where there has been a large family. The eldest girl has, in some instances, gone to service, and given up a portion of her earnings to support them. Upwards of one hundred small settlers have thus received assistance from their relatives. Many have half or a third share in a dray.

"I should advise limiting these people to twenty acres, with a lease of not less than ten or fifteen years. On a less term the tenant works for the proprietor. . . . The plan is before you to accept or reject. All I ask is that, if you approve it, you will let me work it out my own way. Appoint the government immigration agent treasurer, and two gentlemen to examine and control the expenditure. You will bear in mind, in forming an opinion of my statements, that mine is not a plan of to-day. The working it out will be attended with much trouble and responsibility to me; at the same time, I am certain the people will work with me. The distress will be removed, *and those persons who are now suffering in Sydney will, if my plan is carried out, within three years, become the employers of labor.*"

At this last sentence one of the committee allowed his fears of the bugaboo—ever present to the imag-

ination of the Australian capitalist—to escape him,—a terror carefully nourished by the Colonial Office, and guarded against with endless folds of red tape of the true Wakefield hue. He exclaimed, “I am afraid we should find that these people, becoming employers of labor, would do us mischief!”

Not a word, not a thought of the benefit conferred upon three hundred destitute families, converted from costly paupers to independent peasant proprietors, but only terror lest they should become so well off as to give wages at £20 a year instead of £16.

Mrs. Chisholm answered, “I do not think so, but rather that you would be able to obtain in the children of these people, brought up in sober, industrious, and frugal habits, a most valuable description of laborers: this class of persons prefer sending their children at a certain age (and for a limited period) into service with respectable families.”

Mrs. Chisholm's plan was rejected, and she was left to work it out as well as she could with private assistance on the land of a speculator; and to go on laboriously registering agreements and distributing emigrants from farm to farm, as we shall presently describe.

The committee in their report recorded “their grateful sense of the valuable services of a lady to whose benevolent exertions on behalf of the unemployed, as well as of free emigrants of the humbler classes generally, this colony is under the highest obligations, Mrs. Chisholm, whose name is so well known for her disinterested and untiring exertions.”

The chairman of the committee was the notorious Dr. Lang.

In August, 1844, the distress amongst the laborers and mechanics of Sydney had not ceased. A committee was reappointed to consider it. There was a great clamor in favor of undertaking bridges, roads, and other public works, with public money. The mob and officials were favorable to the scheme. The government immigration agent was examined before this committee. "His knowledge," he states, "of the immigrants who arrived in past years was merely general, of the present year tolerably accurate;" "had no knowledge of the number of destitute families then in Sydney;" had no detailed information, but thought a certain detailed statement delivered in by a former witness exaggerated. This was a gentleman paid for his services, who, according to colonial custom, considered it his duty to perform his strictly office duties, and think and know no more, — a very natural view, considering the ill reward that any zeal obtains, except zeal for the views of the Colonial Secretary of State.

Mrs. Chisholm, being called before this committee, produced a complete statistical statement, exhibiting the numbers, ages, sexes, characters, and trades of the unemployed (in all 2,034 souls), the number of weeks and average number per man they had been employed. These tables show some curious particulars: 59 carpenters and 25 joiners, 10 butlers and 10 coachmen and grooms, 15 cabinetmakers, 26 brick-makers, 10 quarrymen and 19 bricklayers, 2 surgeons,

2 hairdressers, and 1 tailor; 244 farm laborers—in all 572. “The large number of children made it difficult to provide for many of these families.” . .

*“The system of relieving distress has now been in operation for a year; we have been consuming capital, we can only remove distress by producing it.”*

“Last year I settled some families on land, and considering the many difficulties thrown in my way, they have succeeded remarkably well on private land. I wished to try the system of leasing, in order to see whether the people were industrious, and could subsist on land; and I have satisfied myself that, although any gentleman would lose a large fortune if he were to commence as a farmer, where the family are all workers an industrious man cannot do better than get on land. The great difficulty with me has been that I have never had an opportunity of putting a sufficient number of people together; and where they are only a few they have no team, no set of tools, and there is a constant struggle; yet they do succeed.”

Now, this in a few words is the true art of colonization. Locate poor men on waste land in England or Ireland, and they sink under the multiplicity of money payments or debts, having to compete with a fund of cheap labor, and inferior land against superior land and skilled cultivation. Locate the same men in a colony and they rise, buoyed up by a surrounding dear labor market, which enables them to barter their chief possession, *labor*, for seeds, tools, stock, or whatever they may need; a virgin soil, and the absence



of money payments for rent or taxes, and of competition of agricultural skill, compensating for the want of capital and rural experience. Thus, a day's labor from time to time with a neighboring farmer will buy a yoke of bullocks, a dray, a quarter of wheat or maize, and assist both. In England and Ireland a poor man clings to land in hopes of making more than bare wages by extra toil ; in a colony a man desires land to keep his family together, even at some sacrifice of money wages. In old countries the little freehold must be divided with sons and sons-in-law ; in a colony the full-fledged brood can always, if idle "protective" laws do not impede, go further afield, and find a new site for a nest. So argued in other words Mrs. Chisholm ; and many a flockowner, now contemplating his flocks spreading wildly unshepherded over his ruin, and the deserted huts of his single men shepherds on their way to the diggings, wishes he had followed Mrs. Chisholm's advice, and encouraged children as well as sheep.

Not being able to induce the governor and the influential colonists to go heartily into her land-colonizing plans, she continued to employ herself in dispersing the people through the interior ; and in teaching the government and the colonists, by example, how the colonial part of colonization should be conducted.

She worked hard for six years, warmly supported by some of the first among the colonists, the Wentworths, M'Arthurs, Bradleys, Fitzgeralds, Suttors, and Dr. Nicholson, the present speaker of the Legislative

Council, and by the unanimous confidence of the working classes, but subject to much obstruction and annoyance in official quarters.

Sir George Gipps, who was capable of noble sentiments when his evil temper or home instructions did not override them, took a public opportunity of expressing his sense of the merit and utility of her plans, saying, "I think it right to make this public acknowledgment, having formerly thrown cold water upon them."

A characteristic anecdote is circulated in the colony, in reference to the privilege of franking letters, which Sir George had given the Emigration Missionary.

A few days after the permission had been granted, the governor sent for Mrs. Chisholm in a great hurry. She found him in one of his fits of excitement, the table covered with her own letters.

"Mrs. Chisholm," he exclaimed, "when I gave you the privilege of franking, I presumed you would address yourself to the magistrates, the clergy, and the principal settlers; but who, pray, are these John Varelys and Dick Hogans, and other people, of whom I have never heard since I have been in the colony?"

"If," she replied, "I had required to know the opinions of those respectable gentlemen on the subject of the demand for labor, and the rate of wages they could afford, I need not have written; I can turn to half a dozen blue books and find there "shepherds always wanting and wages always too high"; besides, to have answered me they must have gone to their

overseers, and then answered me vaguely. I want to know as nearly as possible, what number of laborers each district can absorb, and of what class and what wages. If your Excellency will wait until I get my answers, you will admit that I have applied to men humble but intelligent, and able to afford exactly the information I require."

Sir George Gipps was satisfied with the explanation, and still more with the replies of the bush settlers; so the sub-officials were on this occasion discomfited.

By Mrs. Chisholm's exertions, applied to the elastic resources of Australia, before 1845 the distress of 2,000 souls was so far removed that some parties were ready in a few years to assert, forgetting that a detailed list was on record, that it had never existed; 1845, as Mrs. Chisholm, in her evidence before the committee of 1844, prophesied, the demand for labor was more vigorous than ever, and has never since been checked, even for a moment; on the contrary, the supply has always been under the demand, both in quantity and quality.

It was while making forced marches at the head of armies of emigrants, as far as 300 miles into the interior, sometimes sleeping at the stations of wealthy settlers, sometimes in the huts of poor emigrants or prisoners; sometimes camping out in the bush, teaching the timid, awkward peasantry of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Protestants and Roman Catholics, Orangemen and Repealers, how to "bush it;" comforting the women, nursing the children, putting

down any discontented or forward spirits among the men ; now taking a few weary children into her covered tandem-cart ; now mounting on horse-back and galloping over a short cut through the hills to meet her weary caravan, with supper foraged from the hospitable settlers ; — it was in the midst of marches in which she managed the discipline, the route, the commissariat, the hospital, and the billeting, all herself, with such aides-de-camp as each army happened to furnish, that she commenced another great work subsidiary to colonization, the “ Voluntary Statements of the People of New South Wales,” for the use of the home country. These were statements in answer to the series of printed questions, taken down in the words of the informant.

They were written down in all manner of dwellings, but chiefly among the humbler, in cottages and bark huts, on the roadside, on the top of a hat, in the field, on a plough, in the forest, on the first log of a frugal bush servant’s first freehold.

There were nearly eight hundred of these statements from natives of almost every county of the United Kingdom, from emigrants, from “ old hands,” and from ticket-of-leave men.

They proved incontestibly that Australia was a country in which any industrious man could thrive ; that there was ample verge and room enough for millions ; that land which squatters then and now assert to be only fit for sheep pasture would support yeomanry in comfort and independence. They laid bare much injustice, exhibited in a striking manner

the demand and necessity for an increased female population, and presented a more perfect, truthful, and valuable picture of bush life, painted by servants and settlers, than had ever been drawn in travelers' tales or parliamentary blue books.

It was in consequence of the habit of collecting these statements that she was able to tell the committee of the House of Lords, in 1847 :

"I never returned from a journey to the interior without gaining information which would enable me to provide for a second number ; and it was frequently unnecessary to go into a district more than once ; then I knew the character of the people and the sort of servants that would suit them, and it enabled me to advise people, when they called at my residence, to say, ' You go to such a place, and I can guarantee you employment.' My first object was always to get one female emigrant placed : having succeeded in getting one female servant in a neighborhood, I would leave the feeling to spread among this class. These girls eventually married best, for the parents were thankful if their son married her.

"One of the most serious impediments to transacting business of hiring servants in the country were the applications for wives. Shepherds left their sheep and would come for miles for this purpose, with their certificates of good character, and of money deposited in the savings banks, and list of their stocks and even bank notes. I had more than forty applications of this kind in two years. One man, according to a note in my register-book, who came down to Sydney for a

wife, was very anxious to know 'when we should have a new governor who would attend to matters of consequence like that.'"

The governor took a different view of the subject; for when, in the early days of the "Home Protection," it was suggested to him that many of the forlorn girls, if sent into the interior, would marry well, "His excellency drew himself up to his full height, and exclaimed indignantly, 'What, Mrs. Chisholm! is it my business to find wives for bush servants!'"

He might have done worse.

In 1845 Mrs. Chisholm was examined before a committee of the Legislative Council, on the best means of promoting immigration, the whole distress having been absorbed, and the demand for labor become urgent. She then produced a few of the "Voluntary Statements."

And in the same year she published a "Prospectus of a Work to be entitled 'Voluntary Information from the People of New South Wales, respecting the Social Condition of the Middle and Working Classes in the Colony,' with the view of furnishing the laborer, the mechanic, and the capitalist with trustworthy information, and pointing out obstructions to immigration that ought to be eradicated." She writes:

- "Few persons, if any, are more intimately acquainted with the actual condition of the working classes than I am. Silence, therefore, would be culpable. The servant in Sidney, the shepherd, and the small settler in the bush are known to me—I have visited their homes and witnessed their trials and de-

privations—I have the satisfaction of laying before the public, proofs of their importance as a body, and their merits as individuals: their virtues far exceed their failings—their language may be rude, but their hearts are kind and true.

“To improve the condition of these people is my object, to break up the bachelor stations my design, happy homes my reward.

“To supply flockmasters with shepherds is a good work, to supply those shepherds with wives a better.

“To give the shepherd a good wife is to make a gloomy, miserable hut a cheerful, contented home; to introduce married families into the interior, is to make squatter’s stations fit abodes for Christian men.

“If I meet with the coöperation I expect, it is my intention to submit to her Majesty’s commissioners of emigration a plan for female immigration, which will secure the young women the protection they so essentially require on the passage and on their arrival. If protection is extended to the helpless — if Britain’s moral banner is to be unfurled in the far interior — civilization and religion will advance until the spires of the churches will guide the traveler from hamlet to hamlet, and shepherds’ huts become the homes of happy, virtuous men and women. . . . .

“I feel that a judicious circulation of these statements will promote the best interests in the colony.

“Personal interest in the labor market I have none. I hope to enjoy the proud satisfaction of laying before the British public several thousand proofs of the

good character and persevering energy of her Majesty's subjects in New South Wales."

In the following year, 1846, Mrs. Chisholm left the colony with her family for England, charged with missions from the humbler classes :

Firstly, From a number of freed prisoners, who had been promised by the government that, if well conducted, their wives and children should be sent to join them. This promise had been forgotten. A return made to the Legislative Council showed the claimants at several hundreds.

Secondly, From successful emigrants, who desired to pay the passages of their wives, parents, and other near relatives.

Thirdly, From parents who, to comply with the regulations of the emigration commissioners, had left young children beyond the standard number to the care of poor relatives or the parish.

In the first and last classes, armed with those facts and proofs, without which she never makes a claim, Mrs. Chisholm succeeded. The other formed the foundation of the Family Colonization Loan Society.

Before sailing for England a committee, which included eight members of the Legislative Council, magistrates, landholders, and others of all shades of opinion, raised a subscription for a testimonial, and presented an address in which they say :

"We beg to offer you, on the occasion of your departure from this colony, the expression of our thanks for your active and zealous exertions on behalf of the emigrant population during the last seven years. In



establishing *emigrants' homes*, in establishing great numbers of the emigrant population in the interior as servants, and occupiers of small farms, your exertions have proved of signal advantage to the community.

"In the large collection of '*statistical facts*' and '*voluntary information*,' derived from the laboring classes, you have accumulated materials for establishing the great advantages which New South Wales possesses as a favorable field for the emigration of British settlers."

In the course of her reply, Mrs. Chisholm said :

*"It is my intention, if supported by your coöperation, to attempt more than I have hitherto performed."*

During the six years and eight months which she spent in Australia, Mrs. Chisholm, without wealth or rank, or any support except what her earnest philanthropy gradually acquired, provided for eleven thousand souls.

Yet, since her sojourn in England, she has redeemed her pledge, and done much more. She has, with less than two thousand pounds, between 1850 and 1852, personally sent out more than one thousand emigrants of the best class, and has advised, corresponded with, or otherwise assisted, twenty thousand.

We have devoted thus much space to the colonizing career of Caroline Chisholm, because, with her exertions the colonization of the interior commenced. Before her time emigrants were merely shoveled out on the shores, like so much live stock, to find their own way to market — to service, to marriage, to sin, or death.

She first taught the Australian squatters that property had its duties as well as its rights. She tapped the springs of spontaneous, self-supporting emigration, and showed how closely the extension of national power was connected with the social and domestic virtues.

There is scarcely a line of her works or her evidence that may not be studied with advantage to those who are interested in colonization as a civilizing, cultivating, Christianizing instrument of practical power, because teeming with valuable facts and the sound conclusions of a sagacious mind.

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## CHAPTER X.

### SIR CHARLES FITZROY.

RETROSPECT OF SIR GEORGE GIPPS'S GOVERNMENT—CONTEST ON DISTRICT COUNCILS—SIR CHARLES FITZROY'S ADMINISTRATION—THE SQUATTERS OBTAIN FIXITY OF TENURE—FUTILE ATTEMPT TO REINTRODUCE CONVICTS.

IN July, 1846, Sir George Gipps retired from the government of New South Wales, and departed for England, worn out in body and mind by the excitement of perpetual contests with colonists as unscrupulous in their attacks, as he was obstinate and haughty in maintaining his opinions and position. It was a war to the knife on both sides. The last measure he presented to the Legislative Council (a bill to renew the border police) was rejected, and an address

voted, by a large majority, after two nights' debate, which was virtually a vote of censure on his government.

A few examples will illustrate the peculiarities of his government :

He disallowed the cost of curing a black aborigine of an infectious disorder, on the ground "that there were no funds legitimately applicable for that purpose;" but he spared no expense to discover, try and hang, if possible, those gentlemen who had slain blacks in self-defence, after he had withdrawn the police, for which they paid a special tax.

In the same spirit, he threatened to withdraw the pasturing license of any man whose shepherd lived with a black concubine, blacks being the only females within hundreds of miles; but he towered with indignation when it was suggested that it was his duty to provide the shepherds with wives.

Having found officials, who had been elected members of the council, voting against him, he issued an order that, "On questions deemed of importance by the representative of her Majesty, persons who hold office during her Majesty's pleasure, and who may at the same time be members of the Legislative Council, are not at liberty to oppose, in their latter capacity, the government which it is their duty in the former capacity to serve."

A return made to the Legislative Council affords a series of examples of the arbitrary manner in which he exercised the power vested in him, as governor, of raising and reducing the price of land. In many in-

stances he acted in defiance of the recommendation of the surveyors and local authorities. He believed in no one but himself.

Land at Illawarra was sold at 12s. and £1, raised to £10, not sold, then offered at auction at £1, and being the refuse, still remained unsold.

"In a second district, land raised to £10 was reduced to £2. In a third, after an increase to £10 and £100, the lots were reduced to two pounds an acre. In a third £100 upset was obliged to be reduced to £10 an acre. A fourth and fifth district present equally striking instances of the governor's ill success. as a land valuer."

Perhaps, next to the contest with the squatters, the hardest struggle took place upon the District Council Bill.

District Councils, as we have already stated, were created at the suggestion of Sir George Gipps, before he became Governor of New South Wales, by the 47th section of the 5th and 6th Victoria, c. 79, with the view of raising local taxes, to be expended under local control, for local objects, such as roads, bridges, schools, &c.

Under this clause the inhabitants of each district were empowered to elect a council, and, if they neglected to elect, the governor had power to appoint a council, which should decide on the sum required for a year for the district. Half such sum was to be contributed from the colonial treasury, and the other half to be *levied* on the property in the district. If no local treasurer was elected, the colonial treasurer

had to issue his warrant, and sell up as much of the property of the district as would raise the requisite sum.

It was a very pretty paper scheme, which met the high approval of English statesmen of the first order. In England, it would even now be a great improvement on the present mode of levying county rates, but in pastoral colonies, like those of Australia, it was hopelessly impracticable.

In the first place, there is no population sufficiently dense to work such a system ; and in the second place, there is no ready money to pay the taxes.

Wages are high, consumption is large, and by taxes on consumption, levied at the ports, a considerable revenue may be raised, but by direct taxation, very little. The colonists have, or rather had (for it is impossible to say what changes a gold currency may effect) sheep and cattle, which they exchanged, in meat, wool and tallow, for what they needed in tea, sugar, tobacco and clothing, but very little money.

When Sir George Gipps attempted to introduce his district councils, he found the colonists unprepared to pay five or ten pounds per annum for roads over which they never travelled, and bridges a hundred miles from their farms, and indignant at finding their property at the mercy of the colonial treasurer, the irresponsible officer of the governor, the colonists determined to resist the district council scheme. The governor was determined to enforce it. It was his darling child ; he had conceived it while looking out from his study on the dense population of a different

state of society, and he was not the man to be beaten by circumstances. Like Sièyes and the Abbé, other celebrated manufacturers of constitutions and governing machines, he was blind and deaf to all facts which militated against his theories, and was prepared that everybody should suffer so long as he maintained his character as a legislator. Thus he answered a deputation of the Legislative Council, and other influential colonists, who waited on him to point out the practical difficulties in the way of executing his district council scheme: "Whether it ruins the colony or not, an act of Parliament must, and shall be, carried out."

On this question the battle began. The inhabitants, except in one district, neglected to elect committees. The governor appointed them. Then came the question of levying, after assessing, a rate. A flaw was discovered in the act of Parliament. It was decided that the word "levy" did not empower the council to *distrain*. The governor applied to the Legislative Council for an act to amend the flaw. The Legislative Council refused to help him. He was thrown back on the powers vested in the colonial treasurer; the "Algerine clause," as it was called in the colony, he threatened, but he dared not put in force. The struggle was carried on for years. The governor was supported by the approval of the home authorities; but the passive resistance of the colonists was too much for him. At length, in 1846, Earl Grey called for a report from the principal officials in New South Wales and Port Phillip, including Mr. Deas Thomson and Mr. Latrobe, and they reported in a

manner which effectually, and forever, shelved Sir George Gipps' district councils.

During an administration of eight years, distinguished by unusual official and literary aptitude, Sir George Gipps succeeded in earning the warm approbation of the Downing-street chiefs, and the detestation of the members of every colonial class and interest, except his immediate dependents. The squatocracy, the mercantile, and the settler class were equally opposed to him. Yet even with the same political and economical views, erroneous and baneful as many of them were, with much less talent, but with a more conciliatory temper, he might have been a happy, a popular, and a really useful governor. The value, as well as the popularity, of a colonial governor depends so much more on the manner in which he conciliates and advises the people under his charge, than on the manner in which he pens a dispatch or draws up a speech from the vice-throne.

We have dwelt on his unhappy career — unhappy for himself and for the colony under his charge — to show what manner of policy was approved and rewarded by the Colonial Office of Earl Grey, and why discontent has been for many years chronic in New South Wales.

His administration will always be considered one of the most important epochs in the history of New South Wales, and indeed of Australia, associated as it is with the permanent infliction of the £1 an acre monopoly, the consequent triumph of the great-pastoral over the freehold interest, the development of the

wonderful pastoral resources of Australia, the abolition of assignment and transportation of criminals, the rise of a free population, the introduction of the elective element into the legislature, the commencement of a legitimate parliamentary struggle for the establishment of a responsible government, and a crowd of events of great local but minor national importance. All these date back to the period during which Sir George Gipps reigned and governed too, and contested every possible question with the Legislative Council, with the crown land commissioners, with the clergy of all denominations, with squatters, with settlers, with every one who dared to have any other opinion than the opinion of the governor, except the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

## SIR CHARLES FITZROY.

Sir Charles Fitzroy, a younger son of the Grafton family, and a brother-in-law of the Duke of Richmond, who had previously been Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island, and Governor of Antigua and the Virgin Islands, in the West Indies, succeeded Sir George Gipps, in 1846, and has retained the office, with increased dignity as governor-general, under the recent "Australian Reform Bill," up to the present time.

His administration personally affords no room for observation. He appears to have no opinions, a very conciliatory manner, and to be only anxious to allow the colonists as much liberty of legislation as his instructions will permit. He is contented to drive his



own four-in-hand while his official advisers manage the colonists. And perhaps, until it is found possible to select as Governor of Australia some man of superior intellectual attainments and refined tastes, as well as common sense, conciliatory manners, and official aptitude,—some one, in fact, who would teach the wealthy young colonists that, according to modern English notions, more is needed than a large income, a polished exterior, and a fashionable tailor to make a gentleman — there cannot be a better governor than the sporting, ball-giving, George the Fourth style of Fitzroy.

Yet Governor Fitzroy has had his difficulties, as the following anecdote will show: Soon after his arrival there came from England a Mr. Miles, a worn-out man about town, in personal appearance very much in the style of Charles Dickens' Turveytop Senior, "so celebrated for his deportment," who represented himself as the natural son of one of the royal family, and certainly did bring letters from the home government entitling him to the first good thing that should be vacant. This is the system, and, although in theory the colonial minister seldom fills up colonial appointments himself, he sends out parties with letters which give them precedence over colonial claims.

Accordingly, very soon Mr. Miles was appointed commissioner of the Sydney police, an office similar to that held by Sir Richard Mayne in London, but requiring even more acuteness and activity, because subordinate offices are less to be depended on in a colony than in an old country, being more independ-

ent, and also because Sydney has the benefit of the doubly-convicted, long-practised felony that escapes from Van Diemen's Land. Unfortunately Earl Grey's protégé was in such a state of health that he could neither ride nor walk ; so he professed to look after his men by riding about in a cab. This farce might have endured a long time if something had not occurred in the financial accounts of the chief of the police — one into which the governor was obliged to order an investigation by two other officials ; and, although colonial officials hold together wherever it is possible, the report was cautious, but decidedly unfavorable. Still he was not dismissed.

But an independent member of the Legislative Council, when the salary of the head of the police came on for discussion, said, "Here is a man who cannot walk, and cannot ride, and cannot keep his hands out of a money-box ; surely there can be no need of an office which such a man can fill. I move to strike out the salary." After two attempts he succeeded, upon which Mr. Miles went again to the governor, pressed his claims, and was appointed chief stipendiary magistrate for the city of Sydney. But, in the following session, the same M. C. was ready to urge that the man who had been branded as unworthy and incapable of executing the inferior office in the police could not be fit for the superior post of chief magistrate. So the salary was struck out a second time. Then, a third time, went this unfortunate old man to ask for another place ; but on that occasion he failed. "No, by —— !" said Sir Charles, "I

really cannot give you anything more ; for, if we go on in this way, the Legislative Council won't leave me anything to give away."

However, the governor presented him with £250 out of a fund at his disposal, and put down a like sum to be voted by the Legislative Council, which, however, they rejected.

The increase in exports and imports, in revenue from the live stock of pastoral proprietors, and in demand for pastoral and agricultural labor, which in 1846 had obliterated all traces of the distress of 1841, 1843, and 1844, has gone on continuously from that date to the present time.

In March, 1847, ordinances were issued by the Queen in council, under the provisions of an act passed in the previous year (9 and 10 Vict., cap. 104), which gave the squatters, who had previously been mere tenants at will, leases for eight or fourteen years, with rights of preëmption and compensation, which will be found fully detailed under the proper head.

These ordinances were made the subject of very just and severe criticisms in the report of a committee of the Legislative Council, which sat in 1847, over which Robert Lowe, Esq., presided, a report which exhausts the whole question of waste lands, a question as important to the colonists as that of the corn laws to the people of England.

By this act, and these ordinances, Earl Grey retained the obnoxious high-priced land monopoly, although all hopes of obtaining sales of land, concentration, or moderate wages, had ceased ; but he aban

doned the contest which had for so many years been so stoutly carried on by Sir George Gipps against the pastoral interests, and yielded more than they had ever hoped — a complete monopoly of waste lands, not immediately adjoining townships, on such terms that, in the first place, the £1 an acre has become a perpetual protection, and, secondly, a money qualification, which cuts down the objects of their ancient jealousy — the small stockowners — by making it imperative to pay a tax on not less than four thousand sheep, or six hundred head of cattle, however far short of that number the flock or herd of a settler may fall.

Fortunately, the executive government in both New South Wales and Port Phillip exercised largely the powers given by the act, of extending the boundaries within which pastoral leases could not be claimed.

Three other events which occurred between 1846 and 1850 were — the attempt to reintroduce convicts into Australia, the consequent formation of the anti-convict leage, the long struggle to obtain steam communication, and the passing of the act of Parliament which gave representative assemblies to the “Three Colonies,” separated Port Phillip, under the name of Victoria, from New South Wales. The substance of this act, which forms the constitution of the three colonies, will be given in its proper place. It is sufficient to observe here, that as it reserved to the crown, that is the colonial minister, the control of the land fund, and retained and increased the schedules

or civil list, before described as the subject of fierce contention between the first Legislative Council and Sir George Gipps, it was in the highest degree unsatisfactory to New South-Wales.

On the transportation question Earl Grey was defeated, and compelled to withdraw the obnoxious order in council, which retained New South Wales and Port Phillip among the provinces to which criminals might be transported. But he persisted in making Van Diemen's Land an overflowing cesspool of felony.

In the midst of the first session of the new Colonial Parliaments, all political contests, internal and external, were cast into the shade by the gold discoveries: land question, convict question, taxation question, all were absorbed by the digging up of gold, over which flocks and herds had long been carelessly driven. The year 1850 found New South Wales with 200,000 free people, an export of £2,899,600, an import of £2,078,300, and 7,000,000 sheep. A surplus revenue and an annual demand for labor—nominal freedom of self-government, actual restriction from legislation on every vital interest—who can say in what condition, social and political, 1860 will find the felon colony of 1788?

## CHAPTER XI.

### VICTORIA, OR PORT PHILLIP—1835 TO 1850.

SKETCH OF THE RISE OF A COLONY FOUNDED BY COLONISTS WITH SHEEP,  
WITHOUT AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT.

SEVENTEEN years ago Victoria, or Port Phillip, was a desert, barely known to Europeans, except by the reports of wandering shore parties of whalers and sealers. In the year 1852 between seventy and eighty thousand inhabitants, six millions of fine-wooled sheep, a city furnished with all the comforts and luxuries of civilized life, two thriving ports crowded with ships, steamboats, and coasters, farms, gardens, and vineyards, attested the colonizing vigor of the English race; the advantages of its soil and climate, and, not least, of *administrative and legislative neglect*; for Port Phillip has attained all its solid prosperity without the aid of colonizing companies or acts of parliament, or governors or regiments, or any of the complicated machinery with which sham colonies are bolstered up, and real colonies are so often encumbered.

A small band of experienced colonists, a succession of flocks and herds from the opposite coast, a magistrate, a few policemen and customs officers, then a sort of deputy governor under the modest name of superintendent—these were found sufficient for building up the most flourishing dependency of the British crown, without calling on the home country for a single shilling.

The history of Port Phillip is singularly barren of incident, and may be comprised in a very few pages, while volumes might be filled with the moving accidents which have chequered the career of colonies which have not attained, and are not likely to attain, one-tenth of its wealth and importance as a field for British labor and capital.

In 1798 Bass, in the course of his whale-boat expedition, visited Western Port, one of the harbors of Victoria. In 1802 Flinders sailed into Port Phillip Bay, having been preceded ten weeks by Lieutenant John Murray, of the *Lady Nelson*.

In 1805 Colonel Collins was sent from England with a small force and a party of convicts to found a settlement in Port Phillip. He arrived in 1804, and took up a very injudicious position on the southern shore of the bay, where the beach was unfavorable for landing, and there was no fresh water. It is evident from a narrative published by one of the party, that, from the first, Collins had no earnest desire to form a settlement at Port Phillip: he had heard glowing accounts of the beauty and fertility of the opposite shores of Van Diemen's Land, and, after a very cursory survey, he decided on removing thither. In the course of a walk round the bay, undertaken by the officers of the ship, a fast-flowing stream was discovered, *and at one moment the hopes of the seamen were excited by the sparkling sand, which they took for gold*; but of course, observes the narrator, it was only mica.\* At

\* "Lieutenant Tuckey's Voyage in H. M. S. *Calcutta*, to found a Settlement in Bass' Straits, 1803-4."

the present day we cannot be so sure that it was mica.

During their encampment on the shores of Port Phillip three of the convicts escaped into the interior: one of them was William Buckley, a native of Macclesfield, who had been a grenadier, served under the Duke of York in Flanders, and had been transported for striking his superior officer.

Previous to the arrival of Collins, Mr. Charles Grimes, the surveyor-general of the colony, had completed his marine survey of Flinders by making an outline of the harbor, where he reported the existence of the river now known as the Yarra Yarra, or "ever-flowing water."

In 1824 Messrs. Hume and Hovell, two stockowners of New South Wales, made an expedition to explore new pastures; and, traveling from near Lake George four hundred miles, in the course of which they traversed the flanks of the Australian Alps, and crossed three rivers, which they named the Hume, the Ovens, and the Goulburn, emerged on shores which they imagined to be those of Western Port, but there is now little doubt that they had reached the western arm of Port Phillip Bay, near the site of the port of Geelong. In looking at a map of the Melbourne district a spot will be found marked *Mount Disappointment*, about thirty miles from Melbourne. It was this hill that the weary travelers climbed, calculating that from its summit they would behold the sea. They were right in the direction, and a long line of coast and stretch of the finest sheep plains



lay in a line before them ; but, unfortunately, lofty, broad boled trees hid everything from their longing eyes, and they descended sad and disheartened.

It would seem as if there had been a spell over this fortunate land which guarded its wealth from the discovery of a series of explorers, from Cook to Hovell and Hume.

Mr. Hovell was afterwards employed by the government to form a settlement at Western Port, which was, however, soon abandoned ; and the fine pastoral district traversed in the course of his journey with Mr. Hume excited little attention, in consequence of the discovery, about the same time, of Brisbane Downs, which were more accessible from the previously occupied districts.

In 1834 Messrs. Henty, engaged in the whaling trade at Launceston, in Van Diemen's Land, formed a branch establishment at Portland Bay, and soon afterwards imported a few sheep and cattle to feed on the splendid pastures which there, unlike the other districts of Australia, carpeted the shores almost to the water's edge ; and, in the same year, other flock-owners from Van Diemen's Land crossed the straits to Port Phillip.

Already the Tasmanians had found the pastures of their island, covered as the greater portion of it is by inaccessible mountains and forests of gigantic timber, too limited for the annual increase of their flocks. The reports of the pastoral resources of the opposite shore became a constant subject of discussion, and in April, 1835, a party of settlers formed themselves into

an association,\* for the purpose of taking possession of an estate in Port Phillip; but, before they could execute their project, Mr. John Batman, a blacksmith, born in New South Wales, but then visiting Van Diemen's Land, secretly set sail from Launceston, accompanied by a party of tame blacks from the neighborhood of Sydney, landed in the middle of May, and, through his native interpreter, entered into an arrangement with the Port Phillip aborigines for the purchase of some of their land, returned to Van Diemen's Land, and, again crossing the straits with a store of goods, induced the savages to put their marks to a deed prepared by a Tasmanian lawyer, which purported to transfer a large tract of land, altogether about half a million acres, in consideration of certain blankets and tomahawks. This transaction, like all similar purchases from hunting tribes, was mere child's play. The aborigines of Australia have no idea of cultivation, and consequently no idea of possession of land or anything else. They accepted Batman's blankets, tobacco, flour, &c., and only understood that by that payment he became their ally.

Batman selected the site of his future manor-house at Indented Head. Thence he soon beheld the approach of the ships of the association whom, by his rapid proceedings, he had forestalled in the honor of founding the future Victoria.

It is said, we know not with what truth, that he mounted his horse, and, galloping down to the beach,

\* The association consisted of Messrs. S. and N. Jackson, Fawcner, Marr, Evans, and Lancy.

warned them off his estate. Perhaps, in 1950, a young Victorian painter may assemble crowds in the Melbourne National Gallery, to see "Batman warning the intruders from Port Phillip Bay."

Some of the party, awed by his legal threats, retired inland, and set their flocks to feed on land they eventually acquired. Mr. John Pascoe Fawkner, a name still well known in Victoria, with more obstinacy and less good fortune, took up a position on the northern banks of the Yarra, overlooking the spot where a natural ledge divided the salt tide from the fresh river at the ebb, above a natural basin, which has since, by the aid of masonry, been converted into a port for the city of Melbourne, open to vessels and steamers of two hundred tons.

Batman had previously addressed a letter to Colonel Arthur, the Governor of Van Diemen's Land, in which he informed him of his proceedings; described the country he had explored in glowing but not exaggerated terms; and requested the support of his excellency in his schemes of colonization, and for the civilization of the natives. Colonel Arthur transmitted copies of Batman's letter, and all the documents connected with his alleged purchase from the natives, to the Colonial Office; expressed his decided opinion that the settlement of Port Phillip would form a useful outlet for the settlers of Van Diemen's Land; and that Mr. Batman, "whose conduct had been marked by humanity as well as enterprise," was deserving of a grant of land, although his purchase, as he had already informed him, was clearly illegal.

Lord Aberdeen, and his successor, Lord Glenelg, followed the unfortunate course which has almost invariably been adopted by our colonial ministers. They began by saying *no*, and in a very short period were obliged to say *yes*—to acknowledge a fact!

Lord Aberdeen in December, 1834, and Lord Glenelg in July, 1835, wrote elaborate dispatches, the one against the occupation of Twofold Bay, the outlet to Brisbane Downs, or Maneroo, as it is now called, on the borders of Port Phillip, as recommended by Sir Richard Bourke, and the other against the occupation of Port Phillip, as recommended by Colonel Arthur, objecting to measures "the consequence of which would be to spread over a still further extent of country a population which it was the object of the land regulations to concentrate," and declining, on the ground of "expense to the mother country, and danger to the natives and settlers," to sanction the proceedings of Batman and his associates.

But before the dispatches were unsealed the thing was done. Mother Partington's mop was not more powerful to stop the Atlantic than paper proclamations to arrest the march of Australian settlers with sheep and lambs in sight of "fresh fields and pastures new."

On the one hand, shepherds and stockmen were spreading overland, following their flock from pasture to pasture toward Port Phillip; on the other, a Port Phillip fever seized the Tasmanians, and they crowded across the straits, like the patriarchs of old, with tents and all their woolly possessions.

"We went down," says a lady, then a little child, "to see the six adventurers embark for Port Phillip, with the same feelings as if it had been Cortez or Pizarro; but very soon there was the same universal rush for Port Phillip that there is now for the gold-diggings."

It was while one of these early parties was landing from boats near the future site of Melbourne that they saw, amid a tribe of natives sitting under a tree, with all the arms and tokens of a chief, a man of large limbs and gigantic stature, lighter-colored than his companions, as well as could be distinguished through tan, paint, and dirt. He stared hard at the strangers, and seemed muttering to himself; then, rising, he approached, and addressed them in a strange jargon, in which a few words of English were distinguishable. It was Buckley, one of the convicts who had escaped from the party of Colonel Collins, and, after seventeen years' sojourning with the aborigines, again found himself among his countrymen.

He had forgotten his native tongue, and had assumed all the habits of his savage companions, among whom he was a chief by virtue of his superior stature and strength. He at once joined the colonists, gradually reëquired the English tongue, and exercised very useful influence over his late subjects. The governor of Van Diemen's Land granted him a free pardon, and, as it was disagreeable to him to remain in the scenes of his savage life, he became a constable in Van Diemen's Land.

But either some original infirmity, or long absence

from civilized social life, had impaired his intellect, and he rarely and unwillingly conversed on the events of his extraordinary career.

When, in June, 1836, a magistrate, Mr. Stewart, dispatched by Sir Richard Bourke, arrived to assert her Majesty's rights and to announce the invalidity of all purchases from the aborigines, he found the country already occupied, and the work of colonization steadily proceeding. Nearly two hundred men had arrived from Van Diemen's Land, and were settled around the estuary of Port Phillip; 35,000 sheep, under the charge of strong armed parties, with a number of horned cattle and horses, were spread for many miles over the site of the present Ballarat gold fields, each party seeking to appropriate as large a run as possible.

Until very recently, on the station of Messrs. Jackson, at Saltwater River, was to be seen one of the great bells, mounted on a lofty frame, which used to be rung from station to station to summon assistance when an attack from the blacks was anticipated.

In the same year Sir Thomas Mitchell, the Cook of Australian inland exploration, reexplored and surveyed the overland route from New South Wales, part of which had been traversed by Messrs. Hovell and Hume, and described the fine plains of Victoria, to which he gave the name of Australia Felix, "the better to distinguish it from the parched deserts of the interior country, where we had wandered so unprofitably, and so long."\* He then discovered and

\* Mitchell's "Australia Felix."

named Mount Byng, the hill since become world-famous as Mount Alexander.

The publication of this report in the Colonial and English papers, and afterwards of Sir T. Mitchell's travels, fanned up the flame of the Port Phillip fever, and very soon, along the overland route, pool after pool was drunk dry by the thousands of stock marching on to the promised land.

In April, 1837, Sir Richard Bourke visited the new colony, and gave directions for laying out the town of Melbourne on two hills, East and West Hill, sloping down to the banks of the River Yarra. In June the first land sale took place, and speculation commenced, and did not cease until it ended in widespread insolvency in 1841 and 1842.

The steady course of depending on their increase of flocks and herds was abandoned; every one went into town and country lots; village sites were laid out in all directions, some of which remain projects or miserable hamlets to this hour. Emigrants crowded in from all parts of Great Britain. At Hobson's Bay, the entrance to the Yarra, more than one hundred three-masted ships were to be seen at anchor at one time. Labor rose to an enormous price; brickmakers earned 8s. a day; the common four-pound loaf was sold for 3s. 6d.; and mere huts were let at the rate of £100 a year. Meantime, fortunately, the living pastoral treasures of Australia came pouring in, and increased and multiplied on the downs and grass-covered hills, while some wise, hard-working settlers devoted themselves to agriculture.

During this period the Port Phillip district was nominally under the government of the central authority at Sydney, but in reality the people governed themselves, with the help of a magistrate and a few policemen, while a neighboring colony of the same date was enjoying all the costly magnificence of elaborate government machinery.

In 1839, C. J. La Trobe, Esq., the present governor, was appointed superintendent of Port Phillip district, with an authority little more than nominal, as the surveys, post-office, customs, &c., were managed by subordinates responsible to the chief departments at Sydney; and even up to 1839 the sales of rural land took place at Sydney.

This centralization of authority in a distant city, having different interests, and the appropriation of funds derived from Port Phillip land sales to emigration into Sydney district, were long subjects of grievance on which, as they have been redressed, it is not necessary to dwell.

When representative institutions were conceded to New South Wales, six representatives were apportioned to the Port Phillip district; but it was soon found impossible to find that number of colonists able and willing to live for six months of the year six hundred miles away from their estates; and for several sessions before 1850 the Port Phillipians virtually declined to elect representatives.

In 1841 an administrative division took place between the two provinces; the land funds, part of which had been unfairly appropriated for the emi-



gration of New South Wales, were surrendered ; and, in spite of the efforts of a very influential party in New South Wales, Port Phillip acquired a separate existence. At the same time the separation is so recent, that the account of the history, and of religious, educational, and legal institutions, of New South Wales, during the last ten years, equally applies to Victoria.

In 1842 Melbourne obtained a municipal corporation, under 5 and 6 Victoria, cap. 76. Victoria has, however, never been a penal colony, although long and still suffering from the overflowings of the felonry poured into Van Diemen's Land.

It would not serve any useful purpose to record the struggles of Port Phillip to obtain an independent existence, now that the question has been finally settled.

The general quality of the soil in Port Phillip has given the settlers an advantage over land purchasers in less fertile districts of Australia, and the absence of an expensive local government has enabled the colonists to escape a local debt like that which so long weighed down South Australia.

In fact, the brief history of Port Phillip proves how much more safely, successfully, and inexpensively colonies may be planted by colonists, than by enthusiastic amateurs and speculating companies.

In 1852 the assembling of the first Legislative Council of Victoria marked the commencement of a new era of independence and prosperity, crowned by the golden discoveries at Ballarat and Mount Alexander.

## CHAPTER XII.

### COLONEL GAWLER'S GOVERNMENT—1838 TO 1841.

INJUSTICE TO GOVERNOR GAWLER — FALLACIOUS CALCULATIONS—THE STREET MANUFACTURE IN ADELAIDE — A CONTRAST—COURT OF GOVERNOR GAWLER —THE OVERLANDERS —THE CRISIS — A RIVAL COLONY —THE BUBBLE BURST.

COLONEL GAWLER arrived in South Australia on the 13th October, 1838, and was recalled in May, 1841.

Under his administration the colony attained the highest state of external prosperity; the population quadrupled; the port was filled with ships bringing imports and emigrants; public buildings, shops, mansions, warehouses and paved roads were constructed on land which four years previously had been an uninhabited desert, wharves and roads on a swampy creek which was converted into a convenient port; ornamental gardens were laid out, farms were cultivated, live stock introduced by tens of thousands, a large amount of English capital invested, the interior explored, and the whole colony rendered more familiarly and favorably known to the intellectual portion of the British community than any other colony; and under Colonel Gawler, the land sales ceased, labor could find no employment; capital and labor emigrated, insolvency was universal, and the colony, loaded with public and private debt, collapsed almost as rapidly as it had risen.

The powerful party, whose pecuniary interests and

personal pride, as colonizing philosophers, are alike interested in upholding the system on which South Australia was founded, have long been in the habit of attributing the rise of that colony to the merits of their system, and its fall to the extravagance of Colonel Gawler's, and they have generally passed uncontradicted, because actual colonists are ill-represented in Parliament and the press, and it has not been worth the while of the public, which endured the speeches of Mr. Aglionby or read the caustic colonizing essays of the *Spectator*, to dive into blue books or examine colonial evidence for the truth.

A very slight examination of the history of South Australia will show that it was not what is called the extravagance of Colonel Gawler which caused those sales of land, that export of emigrants, that speculation in building lots and houses which was taken to be prosperity. If a million sterling had been at the disposal of the governor at the time when, to speak commercially, the colonial government stopped payment, the mania for land-buying might have been continued some time longer, but it must have stopped sooner or later, just as the railway-scrip mania came to an end, because the purchasers and sellers were producing nothing; and no amount of imported population and capital could have made the colony produce enough to pay for its consumption until time had been given to raise some staple articles saleable in a foreign market. Wool cannot be produced, like calico or cloth, by steam power; for agricultural produce there was and is no foreign demand worth men-

tioning; the existence of mineral wealth was not suspected. When Colonel Gawler resigned his office into the hands of his successor, South Australia was in debt about £400,000, on account of the colonial government; the private debts of the colonists to English merchants were probably as much more. The excess in Col. Gawler's expenditure was £20,000, or 5 per cent. on the expenses. We have thought it right to devote some space to the rise and fall of this speculation, the first authentic and complete statement that has ever been published, because from time to time efforts are made to repeat the South Australian colonization scheme on new ground.

It always takes a considerable time to inoculate the English people with new ideas. About the time that Captain Hindmarsh was recalled and Colonel Gawler sailed, the fruits of skillful agitation began to be reaped by the South Australian commissioners. No unfavorable accounts of the new colony were allowed to appear in any organ of influence; flourishing reports of the beauty, the fertility, and the commercial importance of the new city were industriously circulated. Colonel Torrens, in lectures he condescended to deliver, stated, and believed, that the situation of the city of Adelaide would give it the same importance with respect to the valley of the Murray, that New Orleans held with respect to the valley of the Mississippi. The Murray, in 1851, had not yet been navigated by anything beyond a whale-boat; and a range of lofty mountains divides it from Adelaide! An influential agent in the South Australian interest

not only produced a magnificently colored plan of the new city, divided into streets and squares, but by a further stroke of imagination, anchored a four-hundred-ton ship in the Torrens, opposite Government House — the River Torrens being a chain of pools in which the most desperate suicide would ordinarily have difficulty in drowning himself, and across which a child may generally step dryshod.

Thus land was sold and emigrants were shipped off before the commissioners had time to receive further accounts from their new and trusted governor and commissioner.

The statements made in a dispatch written by Col. Gawler, immediately after his arrival, show that if Colonel Gawler had been less zealous to carry out the views of the commissioners, and more cautious about his own personal interests, he would have at once brought the progress of colonization to a standstill, strictly followed his *written* instructions, and retired, with his private fortune uninjured, to his own profession.

Under the original plan of the colony the commissioners had calculated that an annual sum of £10,000, over and above any revenue to be derived from customs or local taxation, would be sufficient to defray all the expenses of South Australia. The calculation was mere guesswork, or rather founded on what they hoped to be able to raise, and not on the necessities of the case. In order to make it fit, they fixed on an arbitrary number of officials at arbitrary salaries, and left altogether out of consideration the nature of a

country in which dispersion is essential to existence, and the cost of subsistence in a country in which every pound of meat and flour had to be imported, in which there were neither navigable rivers nor roads, nor wild animals of such a size and in such number as to be a resource of any importance for food.

Colonel Gawler, being an amiable, enthusiastic, simple-minded, yet ambitious man, was dazzled with the idea of becoming the founder of a great civilized, self-supporting community. He accepted the theories of Mr. Wakefield as solemn, immutable truths, and the calculations of the bubble-blowing commissioners as the emanations of the highest financial ability. He placed confidence in the private assurances of the commissioners, and was most bitterly and cruelly deceived.

He found the treasury empty — the accounts in confusion. Twelve thousand pounds, being two thousand pounds more than the whole amount authorized to be drawn for in England in the year, had been drawn in the first six months; a large expense was required for the support of emigrants sick of fever and dysentery; provisions, wages, and house rent were enormously high; custom-houses, police-stations, a gaol, and offices for the transaction of public business were urgently required; a police establishment, at colonial wages, in the absence of a military force, was indispensable; the commissioners, in their calculations, had omitted to provide for a postmaster, a sheriff, or a gaoler; the surveys were seriously in arrears; the head of the staff and all his attendants had

resigned ; the late resident commissioner and accountant-general, the colonial treasurer, and several other officers were found insubordinate, irregular in their accounts, and grossly inefficient ; it was necessary to supersede two of them peremptorily — almost immediately ; all officials were dissatisfied with low salaries in the face of the high prices of provisions, house rent, &c.; Governor Gawler himself, with Mrs. Gawler, his children, private secretary and servants, was compelled to occupy a small hut and expend £1,800 a year on a salary of £800. With this imperfect machinery and an empty treasury, a population of some four or five thousand, not concentrated, according to the impracticable theories of the commissioners, on ten square miles, engaged in reproducing English agriculture, but partly encamped on the city of Adelaide, and partly dispersed in pastoral pursuits over a tract of country one hundred miles long by forty miles broad, had to be governed, customs dues and debts had to be levied, criminals imprisoned, and aborigines repressed.

As to the prospects of the colony, and character of pursuits of the colonists, the inspector of the Australasian Bank at Sydney, wrote in October, 1838, about the time Governor Gawler landed :

“I venture to express my fears that the price received for the sale of land will be found insufficient to pay for the transplantation and government of emigrants ; and, unless funds be provided by the British government, it will be impossible to provide for the administration of police and law. There appears also

to have been a great want of experience and decision in directing the energies of the colonists to that source from which, alone, they can hope to rise to wealth, or prevent themselves from sinking into poverty, until an article of export be produced in considerable quantity; as otherwise, the funds of the colonists must be expended in paying for articles of import and luxuries considered as necessities of life. *Wool is the only article of export that can be produced*, and on this subject the colonists seem as supine as they have been eager to purchase *town allotments* and build houses, giving the place what seems to me a false appearance of commercial prosperity. Had it been left to me, I should have delayed establishing a branch bank until I could be sure that there were at least 100,000 sheep in the settlement, and that provision was made for the efficient administration of the law." \*

The new governor, full of colonizing enthusiasm, and innocent of colonial or commercial experience, was dazzled and deceived by the building activity which had excited the serious apprehensions of the experienced bank manager. He found a large body of educated, apparently intelligent men, who had encamped on the site of the city of Adelaide, all hopeful, active, speculating, dealing with each other and with each party of newly arrived emigrants, full of magnificent plans for every sort of investment, in markets, warehouses, arcades, ship-building, and whaling. A bit of painted board nailed to a tree,

\* Report of House of Commons on South Australia, 1841; p. 146.



created a Wakefield, a Torrens, an Angas, or Whitmore street. All the nobilities of the South Australian interest were thus immortalized. Each speculator having so large a space to deal with, endeavored to draw the tide of trade or fashion into his own locality, and thus, instead of one compact village, as near as possible to the port, tents, wooden huts, pisé huts, wooden houses imported from England, shops of wood, brick and stone, and elegant cottages of gentility, surrounded by iron rails, were scattered over a vast park of 1,130 acres.

Those who had not been able to secure town lots at prices to their mind, had proceeded into the suburbs, where, at one time, with the aid of surveyors' pegged lines, not less than thirty villages were founded, for sale to those who could not afford to give the city price; others were building mansions, laying out pleasure grounds, and even contemplating deer parks. The climate was delightful, the soil of the valley of the Torrens fertile, and emigrants of capital poured in, burning to commence realizing the golden dreams they had been enjoying during a four-months' voyage.

Colonel Gawler was carried away by the stream. The very confusion in which he found public business, the inefficiency of all the officers selected by the commissioners, the backward state of the surveys, were, to a certain extent, an encouragement; because he sanguinely contemplated that, if so much had been done under no system, or the worst possible system of administration, when no accounts were kept, when the governor and resident commissioner held rival

public meetings, and the colonial secretary and colonial treasurer fought in the streets ; how much more might be done under an orderly, regular government, such as he lost no time in establishing.

He proceeded to supercede the incompetent officials, to bring all the government business into a regular form, to press on the surveys, and to make proper arrangements for the reception of the emigrants into barracks, and the numerous sick of ship fever and dysentery, into a hospital. In order to obtain a revenue from customs dues, to keep down illicit distillation, and protect the public from criminals, it was necessary, as Colonel Napier had foreseen, to raise a police. As laborers were worth from 10s. to 15s. a day, and indifferent horses cost £50 each, this was an expensive affair ; but by giving a tasteful uniform, and making the appointment rather honorable, he succeeded in obtaining a highly respectable body of men, including some poor gentlemen, at 5s. a day.

The port, on his arrival, was a narrow swamp, through which, for seven miles, emigrants dragged their luggage and merchandise. Under his arrangements, a road was constructed, and wharves and warehouses erected. He built a government-house of no extravagant pretensions, but which, nevertheless, cost, from the price of labor and materials, £20,000 ; and he also built custom-houses, police-stations, and other public buildings which were indispensable for transacting public business. He expended a large sum in protecting and endeavoring to civilize the aborigines. He contributed to two expeditions which were unsuc-

cessfully made by Mr. Eyre in search of tracts of fertile country. To every charitable claim his purse was always open ; while his hospitalities, although rather of a serious complexion, from his peculiar religious opinions, were on a liberal scale.

The result of his measures was to give an extraordinary impetus to the apparent prosperity of the colony. The brilliant reports of public and private buildings in progress, building land sold at £500 and even £1,000 an acre, of balls, fêtes, pic-nics, horticultural shows, dexterously reproduced in England, tempted men of fortune to emigrate, capitalists to invest, and merchants and manufacturers to forward goods of all kinds on credit. Port Adelaide was crowded with shipping, which discharged living and dead cargoes, and departed in ballast. When 14,000 colonists had arrived, in the fourth year after the foundation, scarcely a vestige of an export had been produced. The land sales and the custom-house receipts rose to enormous amounts.

In the midst of a career of infatuation, by which some half-dozen money lenders realized fortunes, and hundreds were totally ruined, there were men of considerable fortune who endeavored to realize the Utopia they had been taught to dream in England, and introduce the comforts and the scientific cultivation of an English country gentleman, as sketched in Mr. Wakefield's letter from Sydney.

They purchased what, in English eyes, appeared considerable tracts of land ; they loaded ships with furniture, with curious, useless agricultural imple-

ments, with live stock of choice breeds ; they brought domestic servants, laborers, and even tenants, and landed, intent on making the "desert blossom like the rose." But they were bitterly undeceived. Not one of the promises of the South Australian colonizers was realized.

The example of one gentleman, whose name it would be cruel to mention, will exemplify the case of scores of his class, although less wealthy, who sank and died without notice in other colonies, or in England. Mr. B—— possessed an English estate which brought him in about £1,000 a year : fascinated by Mr. Gibbon Wakefield's writings, he sold his estate, and landed in South Australia with an extensive land order, built a house of no great size or comfort at a vast expense, fenced in a farm and began to cultivate, but the cheap labor promised in the commissioners' pamphlets was no more forthcoming than the roads. He soon found that he was sowing shillings to reap half-pence. After spending a great deal of capital, he gave up farming in disgust, and went to live in Adelaide : there, thrown constantly among the company of speculators, having a considerable balance at his banker's, he was inclined to do as everybody did, and speculate. He lost everything, at middle age returned home with his family penniless, and, after living a few years dependent on the bounty of his relations, died broken-hearted, a victim of the "sufficient-price" delusion.

Among the successful, there were scarcely any of the head-working, white-handed class, but a number of

hard-working, frugal men, who, landing without a penny, accumulated enough by labor to purchase a good eighty-acre section, and there, by growing vegetables and wheat, rearing pigs and poultry, with the help of their wives and families, thrived steadily, and made money, in spite of the system which was intended to retain them for an indefinite time as laborers at some three shillings a day. These people often derived considerable advantage from sections of land adjoining their own being the property of absentees. On these sections they were able to pasture their live stock without expense. Where laborers could not afford to buy a whole section, they clubbed together and divided one; for free men will have land whenever agriculture is the only manufacture; and no protective laws can prevent them.

It was these cottier farmers and a few sheep squatters who saved the colony from being totally abandoned when the inevitable crisis came.

A Scotch gentleman of ancient lineage and no fortune, in every respect the converse of Mr. B., afforded a striking instance of what may be done in a colony by industrious, hard work, with the help of a large family, without that capital which, according to theorists, it is indispensable that a landowner should possess. He arrived in the colony very early, the owner of a single eighty-acre section, with twelve children, one half of whom were stout, well grown lads and lasses: his whole property consisted of a little furniture, a few Highland implements, a gun or two, a very little ready money, and several barrels of oatmeal and biscuit.

His section had been selected for him previous to his arrival. It lay on the other side of a range of steep hills, over which no road had been made, ten miles from the town. He lost no time and spent no money in refreshing or relaxing in Adelaide ; he found out a fellow-countryman who lent him a team of oxen, dragged his goods over the hills to his land, and encamped the first night on the ground, under a few blankets and canvas spread on the brush. The next day, and from day to day, the family worked at cutting trees ; there was timber plenty for building a house. This house, situated on the slope of a hill, consisted of one long, low, wooden room, surrounded by a dry ditch to drain off the rain, and divided into partitions by blankets. The river lay below : any water needed was fetched in a bucket by one of the young ladies. A garden, in which all manner of vegetables, including tobacco and water-melons, soon grew, was laid almost as soon as the house ; an early investment was made in poultry ; the poultry required no other food than the grasshoppers and grass-seeds on the waste land around. Until the poultry gave a crop of eggs and chickens, the guns of the lads supplied plenty of quails, ducks and parrots. In due time a crop of maize, of wheat, and of oats, was got in. Before the barrels of oatmeal were exhausted, eggs, chickens, potatoes, kale and maize, afforded ample sustenance, and something to send to market. Labor cost nothing, fuel nothing, rent nothing, keeping up appearances nothing ; no one dressed on week-days in broadcloth, except the head of the house. First a

few goats, and then a cow, eventually a fair herd of stock were accumulated. Butter and vegetables found their way to Adelaide; and while the kid-glove gentry were ruining themselves, the bare-legged boys of the Highland gentleman were independent, if not rich. The daughters, who were pretty, proud, and useful, have married well. In another generation, families like this will be among the wealthiest in the colony.

Now, it is certain that every shilling taken from industrious settlers like this Scotch family, under pretence of supplying labor, was money very unprofitably invested, as it would have fructified more rapidly in their own hard hands.

A lady who arrived at Port Adelaide a few months after the governor, in a manuscript letter describes the then "dreary appearance of the shores; the anchoring of the ship in the narrow creek where, as far as the eye could reach, a mangrove swamp extended; disembarking from a small boat into the arms of long shoremen upon a damp mudbank, under a persecuting assault of musquitoes." On this mudbank lay heaps of goods of all descriptions, half-covered with sand and saturated with salt water, broken chests of tea and barrels of flour, cases of hardware, furniture of all kinds, pianos and empty plate-chests, ploughs, and threshing-machines. A little further, at the commencement of the "muddy track, which led to Adelaide, bullock-drays stood ready to hire for conveying our baggage. The lowest charge for a load was £10. All along the side of the track were strewn baggage

and broken conveyances, abandoned in despair by their owners." "We stopped at a small public house to get a little refreshment. For a cup of tea, with brown sugar, bread, and oily butter full of insects, we paid 4s. 6d. each. The butter seemed spread with a thumb."

Our troubles partly vanished when we reached the beautiful site of Adelaide, where it almost seemed as if a large party of ladies and gentlemen playing at gipsying had encamped. This was the third removal of some who had pitched tents on Kangaroo Island, built huts on Holdfast Bay, and finally taken up their abode in the city of Adelaide. Several times, before drawing up before the highly ornamented wooden summer-house, bright, green, small, and hot as an oven, which had been engaged for us, our carriage had like to have been upset over stumps and logs. Every one we met seemed in the highest spirits; and it was more like a walk in Kensington Gardens than in a colony scarcely two years old."

This bit of contemporary description affords a key to much that is singular and contradictory in the early accounts of the foundation of South Australia. Nat Lee, the mad poet, sings, "There is a joy in madness that none but madmen know;" and there was a charm about the gipsy encampment of Adelaide, with its wild speculation, perpetual excitement, liberal hospitality and charity, constant succession of new faces, splendid luxuries, and curious shifts, to which the survivors look back with the feelings of a mariner to the months he spent with jolly companions on a



desert island, with plenty of turtles and plenty of rum puncheons — the difference being that in the one case the shipwreck preceded, and in the other followed, the jollification.

Governor Gawler held a little court, which was graced by the magnificent uniforms of the officers of the volunteer corps, a corps which consisted of some two dozen officers, from a cornet to a brigade-major, and four or five privates. There were courtiers and ladies in plumes and great airs; there were fashionables, and exclusives held to be the *crème de la crème*; there was an aristocracy composed of the principal officials; there were balls given, to be invited to which great manœuvres were practiced. It was a life like that one of the little gambling courts and watering places in Germany, with more heartiness, in consequence of the constant arrival of friends and victims from England. The town lots of Adelaide formed the great *rouge-et-noir* table. The climate rendered out-of-door life delightful, the imaginary streets swarmed with well-dressed crowds; so much really good society, so many fashionable men, had never before been found in a colony; every one fancied himself the hero of a great enterprise, and enjoyed all the pleasures of gambling, while dreaming that he was helping to found an empire.

In the morning, men dashed about on horses, dog-carts, barouches, and four-in-hands, which cost fabulous sums, in search of eligible sections and sites for villages. In the evenings grand dinners were given in tents and huts, where champagne, hock, burgundy

and every luxury that could be preserved in a tin case abounded ; fashionable dance music and the songs of Rossini and Donizetti resounded from the cottages of the " great world ; " and at cock-crow, beaux in beards and white waistcoats, " half savage, half soft," might be met picking their way, in the thinnest, shiniest boots, through the dust and mud of a projected highway or arcade. There was scandal written and spoken, political intrigue ; a court party and an opposition, with each a newspaper ; and everybody flattered everybody else that building, dining, dancing, drinking, writing, and speechifying was " doing the heroic work of colonization."

Young men of spirit were not satisfied to retire into the bush and look after a flock of silly sheep, while it was possible to buy a section of land at £1 an acre, give it a fine name as a village site, sell the same thing at £10 an acre, for a bill the bank would discount, and live in style at the Southern Cross Hotel ; for when a man had made such a speculation, he could not, and did not, do less than invite a party of new-made friends to celebrate his good fortune by a dinner, a ball, or a pic-nic, with a few cases of champagne imported by the merchant on credit.

At this period a romantic air was infused into the simplest transactions. For instance, in the old colony exploring expeditions had been undertaken either by a government surveyor, who marched out from some remote station without any special demonstration, or by a squatter, who, with a friend or two, a stockman and perhaps a couple of black boys, all on horseback,

set out as quickly as possible to find new pastures for his stock. In South Australia they managed things very differently. Mr. V. Eyre having undertaken to explore the interior of the province, on the day appointed for his setting out a grand entertainment was given, over which the governor presided, at the close of an affecting speech, a band of young ladies clothed in white garments, marched up the room, and presented, amid the cheers of the men and the sobs of the women, a banner which they had worked, to be planted on the limits of his proposed discovery.

Mr. Eyre's journey and a second expedition, proved the hopeless barrenness of a greater part of the province. He afterwards became lieutenant-governor of the small settlement of Nelson, in New Zealand.

It is rather curious that two gallant but unsuccessful exploring expeditions, that of Mr. Eyre and that of Lieutenant (now Sir George) Grey, should have led to the appointment of two governors.

During the administration of Colonel Gawler important assistance was afforded to the colonists by the arrival of the overlanders, who, led by love of adventure and hope of gain, found their way from the bush of New South Wales and Port Phillip, across inhospitable deserts, over precipitous hills, through dense forests, rivers, and swamps, and, in spite of tribes of fiercely hostile savages, brought flocks of sheep and "mobs" of cattle and horses to the South Australians, at a time when butchers' meat was rising to famine price, when a good pair of bullocks could earn £60

a week in working from the port to the city, and horses which had arrived from Van Diemen's Land, after a long voyage of alternate calms and adverse winds, mere skeletons covered with sores, were sold as a favor at £100 each.

The overlanders saved the colony from total abandonment during the first crash of insolvency. The strength of Australia is in her pastures: sheep to the Australian, before the discovery of copper and gold, were what the pine-tree was to the Highland laird, who on his death-bed said to his son, "Jock, be aye putting in a tree: it will be growing while ye are sleeping." The natural pastures and the climate grow the wool, and men, women, or children can be shepherds who have neither strength to fell timber, nor power or skill to plough, to sow, or to thrash. Besides, a pack of wool is always worth cash, while a bushel of wheat in Australia may be worth 10s. one year and nothing the next; and in the worst of times ewes go on breeding and increasing, wethers boil down for tallow, while a field allowed to go out of cultivation under an Australian climate, after devouring all the capital spent on reclamation, very soon becomes as much waste as before the plough turned the first furrow. The overlanders who brought these invaluable animals were many of them men of education: the enormous profits reaped by the first parties, in spite of the loss of both men and beasts by drought and skirmishes with the blacks, made the overland route a favorite adventure with the young bushmen. They brought with them, as well as live

stock, "old hands," who taught the cockneys how to fell a tree and make a fence, and sometimes gave the Gawler police a good deal of trouble.

The gentlemen overlanders affected a banditti style of hair and costume. They rode blood, or half-bred Arab horses, wore broad-brimmed sombreros trimmed with fur and eagle plumes, scarlet flannel shirts, broad belts filled with pistols, knives, tomahawks, tremendous beards and moustachios. They generally encamped and let their stock refresh about 100 miles from Adelaide, and then rode on to strike a bargain with their anxious customers. Before the journey became a matter of course, the arrival of a band of these brown, bearded, banditti-looking gentlemen created quite a sensation—something like the arrival of a party of successful buccanneers in a quiet seaport; with a cargo to sell, in old Dampier's time.

In a few days the stock was sold; the overland garments were exchanged for the most picturesque and fashionable costume which the best Hindley-street tailor "from Bond-street" could supply; and then, with hair combed, brushed, oiled, and gracefully arranged after Raphael or Vandyke, the overlander proceeded to spend freely the money he had so hardly gained, and, as one of the lions of the place, to cast into the shade the pert, smooth, political economists and model colonists fresh from the Adelphi.

New arrivals from England fortunate enough to be admitted to the delightful evening parties given by a lady of the "highest ton," the leader of the Adelaidean fashion, were astonished when, to fill up basso in an

Italian piece, she called on a huge man with brown hands, brown face, and a flowing beard, magnificently attired, in whom they recognised the individual they had met the day before in a torn flannel jersey, with a short black pipe in his mouth.

The overlanders included every rank, from the emancipist to the first-class Oxford man. By the end of 1840 they had introduced nearly 50,000 sheep into the new colony, and taught the wiser of the colonists the necessity of looking to pastoral pursuits for the safe investment of capital.

The trade of turning wild land worth a few shillings an acre into building sections, to be sold at from four or five pounds to one thousand pounds an acre, by the simple expedient of a few pegs and colored plan, was too good to be monopolized by South Australia. The government and private speculators followed the ingenious example in New South Wales and Port Phillip, while in England a dozen foolish or fraudulent schemes were started under the patronage of names as respectable as those who patronized the South American mines of 1824, and the railway delusion of 1845, for colonizing New Zealand, the Chatham Islands, New Caledonia, the Falkland Islands, and other countries having the inestimable advantage of being very distant and almost unknown, all to be divided into town, suburban, and country lots, to be sold in England at a "sufficient price."

The competition of these new bubbles, home and colonial, diverted the attention of intending colonists from South Australia, where the high price of town

lots left but small margin for profits or premiums. Besides, in those epochs of speculative frenzy which periodically recur in England and Scotland, unknown schemes have a certain advantage. About the end of the second year of Colonel Gawler's administration, the resources of South Australia as an investment for capital were partly known, while, as nothing was known about the resources of New Zealand, not even whether there was any available land there at all, it became an excellent and fashionable subject for speculation.

Colonel Gawler piteously complains in some of his dispatches of the misrepresentations of rival colonists, and of parties who, after a very partial inspection of the port and coast, had departed, exclaiming, "All is barren!" But the fact was, that the capitalists who had landed found no advantageous opening for the investment of capital, town lots had been driven up to an enormous premium, the cultivation of land did not pay, and has never paid, the employer of labor on a large scale in any new country. Wool-growing and other pastoral pursuits were more profitable in Port Phillip and the new districts of New South Wales; besides, under the puffing forcing system, enough land, supposing it all fertile, had been sold to support a population of 200,000. The population of the colony was 15,000, of which 8,000 were settled in Adelaide, gambling with each other. As for the laborers, they were partly employed in waiting and working for the white-handed emigrants who had come out under Mr. Wakefield's advice "to labor

with their heads, not with their hands," and who, therefore, required more work done for them than old-fashioned colonists, who were not ashamed to mend their own tools or carry their own packages, and partly in executing works for the government and for the South Australian Company. A considerable number were in the hospital, and others were working at such sham labor tests as drawing fallen timber from the park, to be used for fuel in the government offices.

It had been found impracticable then, as in all subsequent attempts, to carry out the scheme of obtaining recruits for free passages, "exclusively of young married couples not exceeding twenty-four years of age." The laboring classes have their feelings and affections as keenly in regard to family ties as their superiors in fortune and education; they are not to be draughted out, as the Wakefield theory proposes, like sheep or cattle; and the parties charged with supplying the quota of laborers required for the ships, so recklessly dispatched to South Australia, completed the number by a per centage, who became, from age, feebleness, or unfitness for colonial labor, almost immediately chargeable on the government. All who were shipped, if able to work, claimed under their shipping order a minimum of 5s. a day.

When more houses had been built than could be let — when the capital, of which a large portion was exported for the importation of labor, which it was impossible to employ profitably, began to grow scarce — the price of land orders fell and the rate of wages.



Then the frugal laborers began to retire from hired service, to settle down on purchased sections, and combine to purchase sections of 80 acres, to be divided to the extreme disgust of the hired-labor and sufficient-price theorists.

In England the large draughts of the governor, in conjunction with the falling off of land sales, had driven the commissioners to endeavor without success to negotiate the remainder of the loan authorized by their two acts of Parliament, and then to apply for assistance to the Treasury, which was in the first instance granted to a limited extent.

In the colony Colonel Gawler was travelling on a declivity, and could not arrest his course. When he found the commissioners could no longer meet his bills he drew upon the Treasury for the expenses of government. The first bills were met; but eventually a series of draughts, to the amount of £69,000, were dishonored.

The commissioners, who had been perfectly content with Colonel Gawler as long as the public continued to purchase land, fell upon him like a herd upon a stricken deer, repudiated acts to which they had given tacit approval, and tried to throw the failure due to their absurd plan and improvident conduct on "the governor's extravagance." He was recalled abruptly, and left to hear of the dishonor of his bills by a circuitous private source.

The commissioners themselves were soon after ignominiously dismissed.

When the news of the dishonor of the governor's

bills reached the colony the bubble burst, land became immediately unsaleable, an insolvency all but universal followed, from which the banks, from early private intelligence, were able to protect themselves. The chief sufferers were English merchants, shippers, and manufacturers. The chief speculators had long been trading on fictitious capital. A certain number of colonists of fortune were reduced to absolute beggary. A rapid emigration of capital and labor took place. Many laborers were thrown on the government for support. The price of food, rent, and wages fell rapidly. Adelaide became almost a deserted village. The only persons busy were officials whom the commissioners had forgotten to appoint, viz., the sheriff and his officers, engaged in proceeding against beggared debtors, and the judge of the Insolvent Court, by whom they were rapidly whitewashed.

Colonel Gawler retired, after having sacrificed a considerable private fortune to his faith in an impracticable system, and became the scape-goat for the criminal absurdities of the colonizing theorists in London. But his hospitality, his charity, his truthfulness, his genuine kindness of heart, rendered him respected and beloved in South Australia, especially among the humbler classes, or those who were humble in his time.

He was succeeded by Captain (now Sir George) Grey, who, happening to be in London at the time Colonel Gawler was recalled, and able to afford the Colonial Office some information about this panto-

mime colony, received and accepted the ungrateful office of governor.

From that day it has been the endeavor of the theorists and their orators to charge to the extravagance of the ruined ex-governor the inevitable result of an attempt to plant a colony without the preparation dictated by common prudence, to regulate the flow of capital and labor, and raise a revenue and commercial profits from the application of capital and labor to unproductive works. The commissioners sent ship loads of colonists where, had they been wise, they would have sent sheep.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

GOVERNOR GREY—1841 TO 1844.

REACTION — PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLAND — CASE COOKED FOR THE HOUSE OF COMMONS — ACTS OF PARLIAMENT — STATISTICS OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA — DISCOVERY OF THE COPPER MINES.

WHEN Colonel Gawler retired, land became unsaleable, emigrants ceased to arrive, and of those who were in the colony a large per centage reëmigrated to colonies where there was more live stock and fewer town lots. The population of Adelaide diminished in twelve months to the extent of four thousand souls. The price of everything fell fifty per cent. ; whole streets of Messrs. Gouger's and Stephen's cottages

stood empty ; the South Australian merchants who had paid their English creditors in the Insolvent Court, ceased to be trusted with speculative shipments ; the police horses were turned to graze upon the garden constructed at much expense by Colonel Gawler on the banks of the Torrens ; Government House, late the scene of vice-royal entertainments, was closed ; the little world of Adelaide recovered its senses and lost some of its conceit ; and the sober and industrious were able to survey and take stock of the true position of the colony.

The raw materials of colonization had been provided, a road had been constructed from the port, and some toward the interior had been marked out and made practicable. Land suitable for cultivation had been discovered, surveyed, and handed over to land purchasers, who had now no temptation to stay in town, if they meant to remain in the colony ; laborers were willing to take reasonable wages, or ready to set to work for themselves with hearty good will ; and, what was most satisfactory of all, live stock by importation, by overland, and by natural increase, afforded an ample supply of meat at reasonable prices, and a certain and increasing quantity of wool and tallow for exportation. Impoverished gentry were now happy to fall back, from imported fresh salmon or ducks and green peas in tin cases, at fifty per cent. above the Piccadilly tariff, upon native poultry, at almost nominal prices. During the land mania geese imported from Van Diemen's land sold at 12s. 6d. each, fowls 5s. a head, and everything else

in proportion. In 1842, country people used to drive a cart filled with live poultry, fowls, ducks, geese, turkeys, in fair condition, covered over with a sheet, and sell the whole lot at from fourteen to sixteen shillings.

Under the bountiful, genial climate of South Australia actual want was unknown, and industry produced immediate results.

Governor Grey's task was easy. The famine or speculative prices of labor and provisions had fallen to reasonable rates, the emigration of paupers had ceased, and with the immigration the cost of maintaining the infirm, the sick, and the lazy. The unhired were set to work at such bare wages as induced them to seek private employers as soon as possible; the surveys were carried on steadily without pressure, and without exorbitant expenses for stores and hire of drays; and the police expenses were partly superceded by the arrival of a company of soldiers granted to Governor Grey, although indignantly refused to Sir Charles Napier. With these reductions of expenditure, and power to draw upon the home government for a limited sum, Governor Grey was still unable, in homely pharse, to make both ends meet; but the colony survived and vegetated in a sort of obscurity, which contrasted painfully with the brilliancy of its early, brief, blooming, hothouse career.

In the meantime the model colonists were not idle in England. On the 7th July, 1840, the colonization commissioners for South Australia brought under the notice of the Colonial Secretary (Lord J. Russell) the

embarrassed state of the finances of the colony, and in August they reported that the revenue of the colony did not much exceed £20,000 per annum, and the current expenditure had risen to £140,000. Under these circumstances the Secretary of State, by letter dated 5th November, 1840, undertook to guarantee a loan of £120,000 to be raised by the commissioners; but negotiations to raise this loan failed.

In the same year the original commissioners were dismissed.

In February, 1841, a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider the South Australian acts, and the actual condition of the colony of South Australia. The inquiry lasted until the 10th June. A long array of witnesses were called on behalf of the Colonial Office and the South Australian interest. Personal and documentary evidence proved in the clearest manner that the Colonial Office had given every reasonable assistance to the commissioners, and were in no manner responsible for the blunders of the commissioners or of the commissioners' agents. The South Australian interest, including non-resident purchasers of vast tracts of land, and Mr. Gibbon Wakefield and his disciples, were examined at great length, but not a single representative or settler from the colonies whose interests were likely to be affected by the decisions of the committee was called.

The case for South Australia was "got up and worked," in railway phrase, by Mr. Wakefield and Colonel Torrens, and all the colonial evidence was made to *fit* their peculiar views.

The committee made two reports. In the first, on the 9th March, 1840, they state, "That at the present moment the sales by the colonization commissioners of land in the colony are suspended; emigration has ceased since the month of August; the bills drawn by the governor have been protested, the estimated amount of such bills already due and in progress is £97,000, the amount due to parties in England for services performed is £56,000; the debt from the revenue to the emigration fund is £56,000: making a total deficiency of about £210,000."

In the second report they enter into the history of the colony in detail, in the course of which they say, "With regard to Colonel Gawler, it is impossible to doubt that when he entered on the duties of his office they were in a state of the greatest confusion, and that the difficulties he had to contend with were most embarrassing—that shortly after his arrival in the colony he represented these circumstances, and gave the commissioners reason to expect a considerable excess of expenditure above what had been provided—that, among those witnesses who have most decidedly pronounced his expenditure excessive, none have been able to point out any specific items which could have been reduced without great public inconvenience, while the chief item of expenditure, incurred on account of the Government House and public offices, was one that the late board had authorized." . . .

"The commissioners had originally set apart a sum of £10,000 annually, over and above the revenue, out of which they intended that all the ordinary expendi-

ture should be defrayed. *It was now calculated that after spending the whole local revenue, and providing otherwise for the charge of surveys, which has hitherto been defrayed by drafts upon the commissioners, and without making any allowance for public works, there will still remain to be provided for an annual deficit of about £40,000."*

But the committee, as experience has since proved, were more correct in their statement of facts, than fortunate and sagacious in proposing a remedy. Having unsuspectingly received all Mr. Gibbon Wakefield's assumptions and assertions as incontrovertible economical truths, they proceeded to recommend by resolutions, amongst other things, that all land be sold by auction at a minimum upset price, except special surveys of 20,000 acres; that "the minimum price of land in South Australia may safely be raised above the present amount of £1 an acre; and that in fixing such amount it is desirable to keep in view the principle of maintaining such an amount as may tend to remedy the evils arising out of a *too great facility of obtaining landed property, and a consequently disproportionate supply of labor and exorbitant rate of wages.*"

At that time the committee were firmly convinced that they could regulate the rate of wages by the price of land; and Lord Howick, since Colonial Secretary as Earl Grey, then a pupil of Mr. Wakefield, moved as an amendment to the above-quoted resolution, "That one minimum price for land in all the Australian colonies ought to be established, and that



this price ought not to be lower than £2 per acre, and that it ought to be progressively increased until it is found that the great scarcity of labor now complained of in these colonies no longer exists."

The fallacy of these assumptions has now been rendered as patent as another favorite assumption of the same period, that the price of corn in England regulated the rate of wages.

Ten years' experience have proved that the highest rate of wages may exist in the face of a price of land so high as to exclude all but a very small number of purchasers, and in that ten years the home government, in the face of a ruinous rate of wages, have been unable, although willing, to raise the price of land in Australia. The sale of land, except in the immediate neighborhood of towns, in choice situations, and where mines were supposed to exist, has ceased.

But in 1841 colonial opinions were treated with contempt. As in 1847, grave commercial men like Mr. Morrison, deceived by imaginary dividends, believed that government could buy and work up all the railways of Great Britain at a profit, so Lord Stanley and Lord Grey, dazzled by the land purchases of mad speculators in New South Wales, Port Phillip and South Australia, fancied that the government had an inexhaustible treasure for emigration and patronage in the waste lands of every colony in the British dominions, from the Sugar Loaf Hills of New Zealand to the wild, wintry moors of the Falkland Islands.

Two acts brought in and carried by Lord Stanley,

the Colonial Secretary, in the session of 1842, embodied the recommendations of the committee, and arranged for the future government of South Australia. By one a minimum price of £1 an acre, with sale by auction, except in the case of special surveys of 20,000 acres, was imposed on all the Australian colonies, including Van Diemen's Land. It is this act against which the colonists, who were never consulted, have not ceased to protest. By the other act South Australia was transferred from the management of commissioners to the Colonial Office, and its debts were arranged in the following manner: The whole debt amounted to £405,433; of this, £155,000, which had been granted by Parliament in 1841 for passing exigencies, was made a free gift; £45,936, of which £17,646 had been incurred by Governor Grey in maintaining unemployed emigrants, was to be paid by the treasury, and the remainder was converted into debentures, partly guaranteed by the government and partly charged on the colonial revenues.

It may be convenient to state here that the renewed sales of land after the discovery of copper mines paid off the greater part of these debts, with interest, between 1845 and 1849, with the exception of the £155,000. About £50,000 still remains due.

On the passing of this act South Australia sank into obscurity, and, in spite of the vigorous efforts of the South Australian Company, which found itself in possession of large tracts of land that could neither be sold nor let to rent-paying tenants, ceased to attract the attention of emigrants.

Great bankers and capitalists who had been induced to purchase lots of land wrote them out in their books as value *nil*. So late as 1850 there were parties in the city of London who had forgotten that they held some thousand acres in South Australia until reminded by an application to purchase from returned colonists. In very rare cases has the investment in rural land at £1 an acre turned out profitable.

Dover, the quietest and least enterprising of towns, contributed by public subscription in 1837-38 one emigrant to South Australia.

The fortunate man no sooner arrived, with nothing to lose, than carried away by enthusiasm and the persuasions of the Colonial Sec'y, Gouger, he became the purchaser of a thousand acres of land, and boldly drew upon two of the gentlemen who had charitably sent him out, advising them of the favor he had done them, and promising to remit in due course the title deeds. The good Doverians, on the arrival of the tremendous bill, held a consultation, learned the total ruin that would fall on the drawer if it were returned protested, wishing, too, not to have the one Dover emigrant disgraced, and perhaps a little dazzled by the brilliant reports of fortunes daily realized in Australian land, made a round robbin of £100 apiece, met the bill, in due course received the grant, and from that time forward never heard a word of the emigrant or the land.

The following figures will show the results of this self-supporting, sufficient price colony :

## REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.

In 1840, Gov't Expenditure, £169,966; Revenue, £30,199 11s. 1d.					
1841,	do	104,471	do	26,720	15s. 11d.
1842,	do	54,444	do	22,074	1s. 6d.
1843,	do	29,842	do	24,142	1s. 2d.

## STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF SEVEN YEARS OF THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN COMMISSION.

South Australian Act, 4 and 5 Wm. IV., cap. 95, Royal Assent, 1834	
Commissioners Gazetted.....	5th May, 1835
Colonel Light and Surveying Staff.....	March, 1836
Gov. Hindmarsh and first party emigrants sailed	30th July, 1836
Governor Gawler.....	1838
Area of Adelaide, 4 1-2 miles N. E. to S. W., 4 miles N. W. to	
S. E., 700 acres, 432 acres. Population 8,000....	1839
Port opened.....	17th May, 1840
Governor Gawler recalled.....	1841

		Acres.	£	s.	d.	Emigrants landed.
1835	Land sold	58,995	at 35,417	5	0	.....
1836	"	1,680	" 1,378	0	0	..... 941
1837	"	3,120	" 3,140	0	0	..... 1,279
1838	"	37,960	" 37,960	0	0	..... 1,938
1839	"	48,336	" 48,336	0	0	..... 5,797
1840	"	7,040	" 7,040	0	0	..... 5,025
1841	"	160	" 160	0	0	.....
		157,291	£133,431	5	0	15,039

Shipping 1839—190 ships; tonnage—40,000.

## ACRES IN CULTIVATION.

Year.	No. of Proprietors.	Acres.
1840.....	—	2,503
1841.....	—	6,722
1842.....	873	19,790
1843.....	1,300	28,690

In 1844 the sheep of South Australia were about....	400,000
" Cattle .....	30,000
" Horses.....	2,000

In 1840, writs from South Australia sheriff's office..	154
1844, only.....	10
1842, flats of insolvency.....	87
1844.....	10

Thus it appears that, between 1837 and 1840, 15,000 inhabitants, who were importing provisions at the rate of £200,000 per annum, only cultivated 2,000 acres; but in three years after they had abandoned land-gambling, and lost all credit in the English market, they had 28,000 acres in cultivation, of which 23,000 were in wheat, and the number of landed proprietors had nearly doubled. But the result of this industry proved that, although much misery would have been saved the colony had agriculture occupied the colonists instead of land-gambling, still that agriculture could not be carried on there with a profit with hired labor in a colony, for in 1843-4 wheat fell to 3s. 6d. and even 2s. 6d. a bushel, with wages at least 3s. a day; while Van Diemen's Land, with better soil and climate for wheat-growing, and cheaper labor, could not afford to grow wheat for less than 4s. or 5s. a bushel. In fact, the South Australians found themselves in possession of 200,000 bushels of wheat which was absolutely unsaleable, although of admirable quality. And in June, 1845, after exporting 200,000 bushels, chiefly sold at a loss, a surplus of 156,000 bushels remained.

Of wool there were only 5,000 bales to export in 1843. Port Phillip, colonized with sheep and shepherds at the time that model colonists were forwarded to Port Adelaide in thousands, exported 9,000

bales in 1841 ; and in 1843 enjoyed exports to the amount of £307,000, without a shilling of debt against South Australian exports of £46,000, and £400,000 debt.

In 1843 the results of the monstrous system on which South Australia was colonized began to disappear. The ruined capitalists were forgotten, and so were the debts due to the home government and home creditors. Those who had been able to weather the storm of insolvency and keep a few sheep had retired towards the interior : there dispersed they were able to live cheaply, to carry on their business with little hired labor, and to look forward with confidence to annual income from the clip of wool; and annual increase of wealth by the natural increase of their flocks.

Thus, in 1843, South Australia, formed with so much preparation, the subject of so much printing, colonized by a superior class, forced forward by an enormous expenditure of public and private capital, instead of presenting a picture of a contented population, divided into capitalists and laborers, engaged in scientific agriculture, owed all its exports to dispersion after the manner of neighboring colonies, whose "barbarous manners" had been so much contemned, and presented a picture of cottier farmers, vegetating in obscurity, content to live with few comforts, without rent or taxes. Some lived comfortably on land the property of absentees, many more as tenants not paying any rent, whom the landlords were glad to retain in order to keep their land in condition. The

tenants of the South Australia Company were in this state.

Looking back at the condition of South Australia after it had ceased to attract the importation of capital, there can be no doubt that if it had been as far from the old ports of the colonies as Swan River, and out of reach of the expeditions of overlanders, it would have sunk even to a lower ebb than Western Australia.

When land-jobbing had been exhausted, and all the schemes hatched in England for employing capital had been tried and found wanting, an accident revealed to the colonists the existence of a treasure which even the sanguine and poetical promoters of the colony had never suspected or suggested. They had placed coals, marble, slate, and precious stones among the probable exports; but copper and lead had not entered into their calculations.

In 1841 a little lead ore was discovered and sent to England. In 1843 Mr. Dutton, the brother of a gentleman of some means, but who had himself been compelled by the general depression to accept the situation of sheep overseer, accidentally discovered, and, in partnership with Captain Bagot, became the purchaser of, the eighty-acre section which included the Kapunda mine. Other mines were subsequently discovered, to which, wherever of any importance, a description will be given in the chapter devoted to the present resources of the colony; but the great event, the turning-point of the fortunes of South Australia, was the discovery of the Burra Burra mine,

which has alone furnished for the last five years more than four-fifths of South Australian exports.

The discovery of the Kapunda set all the colony hunting for mineral outcrops ; the residue of the land-jobbers took up the geologist's hammer ; but, by a singular fortune, the investigations of Mr. Mengs, a practised geologist, were fruitless, while a mine of wealth was turned up by the wheel of a bullock-dray.

In 1845 the existence of a remarkable and promising outcrop of the Burra hills, became well known in the colony : rumors on the subject had been afloat in 1840. In order to secure the whole district without the unlimited competition, application was made to the governor for a special survey of 20,000 acres. At the same time a party of speculators arrived from Sydney, intent on securing the great prize if possible. The survey was ordered ; a day and hour were fixed for the payment of the £20,000 ; the governor decided not to accept bills of the local bank, or anything but cash. Cash in 1845 was a scarce commodity in Adelaide, although corn was plentiful, and pride as rampant, and with as little reason, as in any decayed watering-place in England. The retailers, and all not within a certain indiscribable line, were dubbed the snobs ; the officials and self-elected aristocracy the nobs.

To raise the £20,000, a union between the nobs and snobs became indispensable ; but even that was not enough, for there was scarcely so much gold in the possession of all the colonists, and the Sydney specu-



lators were waiting ready to bear off the prize. On the last day for payment a hunt for gold was commenced by half a dozen men of good credit. Cash-boxes in hand, they traversed the streets and suburbs of Adelaide, offering with ample security, a handsome premium for sovereigns. On that day many secret hoards were dug out, husbands learned that prudent wives had unknown stores, and old women were even tempted to draw their £1 or £2 from the recesses of old stockings. Almost at the last minute the money was collected, caunted, and paid, and the richest copper mine in the world rewarded the long-suffering of the South Australians, and awakened all their old gambling spirit.

The purchase effected, the class spirit which forms so absurd an element in the English character, broke out, and a division of the 20,000 acres was decided on. The toss of a coin gave the "snobs" the first choice: they took 10,000 acres, which they gave a native name, the Burra Burra. The nobles named their 10,000 acres the Princess Royal. The outcroppings on the hills of the Princess Royal were magnificent; nevertheless, in 1850 their £50 scrip was not saleable at £12.

The history of this mine is the history of the commercial progress of South Australia. Farms, land sales, emigration, wharves, warehouses, projected railways, imports, rents, wages, have all rested on the yield of the Burra Burra.

The government was vested in the governor and commander-in-chief, assisted by an executive and

legislative council, composed of the governor, the colonial secretary, the advocate-general, the surveyor-general, and the assistant commissioner, to whom were subsequently added four nominees from among the non-official colonists.

Of the progress of South Australia since the discovery of mines and the dissolution of the South Australian Company, we shall speak in our descriptive chapter.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

### A GLANCE AT THE EXTENT, FORM, SOIL, CLIMATE, RIVERS, AND PRODUCTIONS OF AUSTRALIA.

AUSTRALIA is the largest island in the world, so large that it is more correctly described as an island-continent, situated between the 10th and 45th degrees of south latitude, and the 112th and 154th degrees of longitude east from Greenwich. It may be said to be nearly three thousand miles from west to east, and two thousand miles from north to south, of a nearly square form, were it not for the deep indentation formed by the great Gulf of Carpentaria. But this superficial extent, which is sometimes compared with that of other continents, affords no true index to the area really available, or ever likely to be available, for colonization. A great portion of the interior is more hopelessly barren and impassable than the

deserts of Africa, being in dry weather a hollow basin of sand, in rainy seasons a vast shallow inland sea, alternately and rapidly swelled by tropical torrents, and dried up by the tropical sun.

Comparisons are frequently instituted between the relative areas and populations of Europe and Australia; but nothing can be more fallacious or dishonest.

The resources of Australia have been as yet barely discovered; a century of active colonization can scarcely develop them to their fullest extent. Even without the appliances of science and combined labor a vast population may be subsisted in comfort; but, without some change more extensive and material than it is possible to foresee, there can be no such dense multitudes concentrated in Australia as are found in the more civilized states of Europe, and as may be found at some future period in North America. The absence of great rivers and the means of forming inland water communication, and the quality of a great proportion of the soil, settle this point.

The surface of this island is depressed in the centre, bounded by an almost continuous range of hills and plateaux, which, varying in height from one to six thousand feet above the level of the sea, in some places approach the coast and present lofty, inaccessible cliffs to the ocean — as, for instance, the heads of Port Jackson — and in others tend toward the interior of the country, at a distance of from twenty to eighty miles; but, these elevations being all of an undulating, not a precipitous, character, no part of the country can be considered strictly alpine.

The features of the country on the exterior and interior of this range differ so much as to present the results of climates usually found much further apart, especially on the eastern coast, where between the mountains and the sea, as, for instance, at Illawarra, Port Macquarie, and Moreton Bay, the vegetation partakes to a great extent of a tropical character; and on the rich débris washed down from the hills we find forests of towering palms and various species of gum-trees (*Eucalypti*), the surface of the ground beneath clothed with dense and impervious underwood, composed of dwarf trees, shrubs, and tree-ferns, festooned with creepers and parasitic plants, from the size of a convolvulus and vine to the cable of a man-of-war. These dense forests, through which exploring travelers have been obliged to cut their way inland at the rate of not more than a mile or two a day, are interspersed with open glades or meadow reaches, admirably adapted for pasturing cattle, to which the colonists have given the name of Apple-tree Flats, from the fancied resemblance between the apple-trees of Europe and those (*Angophoræ*) with which these glades are thinly dotted.

Within the ranges, on the other hand, are found immense open downs and grassy plains, divided by rocky and round-backed ranges of hills, and interspersed by open forest without undergrowth and detached belts of gum-trees (*Eucalypti acaciæ*), presenting a park-like appearance, which, advancing towards the interior, are succeeded either by marshes, or sandy and stony deserts, perfectly sterile and unin-

habited, except by a few reptiles, and birds which prey upon them.

The rivers of Australia are few in number, and insignificant in a navigable point of view. The one series, rising from the seaside of the mountain range, flow deviously until they reach the coast, seldom affording a navigable stream more than twenty miles inland, usually rushing down with such rapidity during the rainy season as to fill up their sea-mouths with a bar excluding all, except boats of slight draught of water. The other series, falling toward the interior, are lost in quicksands, marshes, or shallow lakes; after a course varying from a score to many hundred miles of zigzag current, now flowing with a full, deep stream, and then suddenly diminishing to a depth of a few inches, or even totally and suddenly disappearing.

The Dutch colonists in South Africa have terms by which they express the exact value of flowing water, whether perpetual or intermittent, whether a mere rivulet or a deep stream; but there are no words invented in the English language which convey a correct idea of Australian waters. The two terms most in use are creek and river, the former being an arm or branch of the latter. But an Australian river, even when marked by an imposing colored line on a map, giving, according to proportion, an idea of a Rhine, a Danube, or a Thames, is generally a chain of pools, varying in dimension from a few yards to a league in diameter, which are, with a few grand exceptions, according to their respective depth and prox-

imity to mountains, reduced to an absolute or comparative state of mud in dry seasons, or united into a deep, still stream, or roaring torrent, after a few hours of tropical rain.

The brother of the writer rode down, on an exploring expedition during a season of drought, with a fellow-squatter, in search of fresh pastures, and discovered the River Barwen, flowing bank high, as broad as the Thames at Richmond, winding along plains which, as far as the eye could reach, were covered with rich grass, higher than the necks of their horses. As they rode along, ground pigeons, grass parroquets and quails rose up in thousands; and from time to time flocks of emus thundered past, while kangaroos bounded swiftly away, and from the river rose clouds of waterfowl. There seemed game enough to feed an army, and grass enough for tens of thousands of live stock. Yet he lived to see within a few years the grassy plain burned to a sandy desert, and the great river shrink to a chain of shallow pools, in which it was difficult to find water enough for a hundred oxen.

The deep pools, called colonially "waterholes," and the winding course pursued by all the Australian rivers, economise the supply during the long droughts, and at the same time distribute it over a considerable part of the country. Thus the Hawkesbury, one of the earliest rivers navigated by the settlers, is not more than thirty-five miles in a direct line from Windsor, where it is navigable to Broken Bay, and where it flows into the sea; but its tortuous route is

one hundred and forty miles, and higher up its windings are still more remarkably circuitous ; while the Murray, the greatest river of Australia, rising on the western flank of the Australian Alps, after a much longer course, in which it receives the waters of the Ovens, the Darling, and the Murrumbidgee, by which name it is known for part of its course, ends in the broad shallow lake of Alexandria, in South Australia.

Until the latter explorations of Mitchell and Leuchardt, hopes were confidently entertained of discovering an inland sea, and a great navigable river, flowing to the northward ; but these hopes are now exploded, and it is certain that on land conveyance the chief Australian communications must depend.

A great diversity of climate prevails in Australia, varying with the latitude and the height from the sea. Van Diemen's Land, with its more isolated and more southern position, enjoys more rain and the irrigation of many streams. In certain districts of Australia, especially between the 25th and 35th degree of latitude, the thermometer frequently rises to 110, 120, and even 130 degrees in the shade, while hot winds sweep over the country from the sterile, burning plains of the interior. This great heat is unaccompanied by night dews ; and droughts of many months' duration occur at uncertain intervals, and are of uncertain extent, during which rivers and waterholes are dried up. The settlers who have not yet imitated the costly construction of tanks and aqueducts, or even the more simple and successful contrivances adopted

in peninsular India and in Asia Minor for collecting and husbanding rain and spring water, suffer dreadful straits. The pastures become parched deserts—the sheep eat the grass to the roots—the waterholes are poisoned by the bodies of cattle suffocated in the sloughs when struggling for drink, and thousands of stock of all kinds perish either before moving or while on the road to districts which the drought has not affected. It is during these droughts that almost all the great discoveries of new pastures have been made by enterprising stockowners and their servants.

But after a time, which no man, white or native, can calculate, rains fall in torrents, grass springs up abundantly, “and the plains, on which but lately not a blade of herbage was to be seen, and over which the stillness of desolation reigned, become green with luxuriant vegetation.” The rivers and creeks fill with marvellous rapidity; a roaring flood rushes down the lately dry bed of a stream, overflows the banks, and carries all that impedes its progress in white foam before it. On such occasions the Hawkesbury has risen ninety-five feet in a few hours; and in 1851, in the Maneroo district, the sites of townships recently laid out for sale by the government surveyor were converted into deep lakes, and a whole camp of aborigines were drowned.

The ravages of the drought and flood are quickly replaced in a climate so favorable to the increase of live stock, and in a very short time the losses and the dangers are forgotten. These afflictions were of a more serious character in the early years of the first



colony, when but a comparatively limited part had been explored. At present plenty in one colony or one district counterbalances the droughts or floods of another.

At a height of two or three thousand feet above the level of the sea a temperate, and even cold, region is to be found, where the vegetables, fruits, and grain of Northern Europe flourish, and the settler or traveler finds the necessity of warm clothing, and the comfort of blazing fires.

But in all the varieties of temperature found in Australia the climate is, with the exception of the burning plains of the interior, congenial to Europeans: even the tropical regions of the coast are free from those fevers which decimate white men visiting the Indian seas and the African coast.

The soil of Australia varies even more than its climate. Of the whole extent a very large proportion is hopelessly barren, but still enough remains capable of supporting a very numerous, and in some districts a dense population. There are no data for calculating with such a degree of accuracy as would be useful the proportions of available land in the occupied districts. It will be safe to assume that two-thirds of the land worth occupying is only, and will only be, fit for pastoral purposes, and can no more be profitably cultivated than the limestone hills and moors of Wales, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, and Gloucestershire, or the Highlands of Scotland.

Of land fit for agricultural purposes, and sufficiently clear of trees to be put under plough at a reasonable

expenditure of labor, there is enough to support a population to be counted by millions, but continually intersected by barren ranges and forests of scrub, which can never be of any value except for firewood.

On the coast to the northward, between Port Macquarie and Moreton Bay, are vast tracts of well-watered land, on which the soil is excellently adapted for various crops, but so covered with heavy timber that nothing less than the old system of convict-clearing gangs, or of free grants to clearing parties, will bring them into cultivation in this generation, although well placed for water conveyance to the sea-port towns. On the other hand, in Port Phillip there are plains on which the plough might be driven for one hundred miles in a straight line, turning up a furrow of rich mould along the whole tract; and the other two colonies can present similar instances, although not to the same extent, or so near the sea coast.

The soil of Australia presents as many anomalies as its configuration and its animal and vegetable productions.

In other parts of the world the most fertile tracts are generally found near the mouths of rivers; in Australia the greatest fertility usually commences where the navigation ceases. In Europe the valleys will generally be found full of rich soil; in Australia some of the richest mould is to be found on the tops of hills. The low hills formed on the banks of rivers above the navigable waters are often unequalled in richness,

while the valleys are composed of a soft clay, producing a rich, coarse herbage, very fit for pasturing horned cattle, but unsuitable for cultivation.

The neighborhood of the first settlement, west and south-west of Sydney, is chiefly composed of sandstone and unproductive clays; the first good land was found in patches on the river Hawkesbury; and on the alluvial flats formed by the overflowing, fresh-water rivers, the richest cultivable land is to be found. Works for draining or irrigating can only be attempted where damming a valley or draining a high-lying marsh can produce a great effect at a moderate expense. For half a century the progress of colonization in Australia has rested on its pastoral resources, which are of the very first order, in soil, in climate, and in arrangement of territory..

From the level of the sea to the summit of the highest mountains, pastures are to be found extending for hundreds of miles, now undulating smoothly and almost imperceptibly, then extending in broad, flat plains, or a succession of round-backed hills, broken with rocky ranges, and ending in deep gullies. Over these the flockmaster may, if needful, drive his flocks for days, nay, for weeks, without meeting any serious interruption to his progress, or without failure of the pasture on which sheep thrive.

The districts which, from their dampness and rankness of the vegetation, would be unsuitable for sheep, are available for cattle, which in certain regions, in default of grass, find good feed on the tender branches of a species of primrose.

Agriculture has hitherto been but rudely pursued in Australia, with rare exceptions. To gentlemen of capital it is not, and is not likely to become, a profitable pursuit; for this reason, a prejudice against the agricultural capabilities of the colonies has been entertained and sedulously encouraged among the pastoral interest, who, dreading the prospect of a class of yeomanry which might encroach on their sheepwalks, can with difficulty be induced to admit that there is any fertile soil to be found, — a prejudice which must always be taken into consideration in estimating the value of colonial evidence on such subjects. Certain it is that ignorant cultivators have successfully cropped farms on the Hawkesbury, the Hunter, the Macquarie, year after year, without manure, and without any sensible diminution in the returns. As to quality of grain, the wheat of South Australia, Port Philip, and Van Diemen's Land imported into England, has been pronounced equal to any, for weight, size, and flavor, ever exhibited in Mark-lane.

## CHAPTER XV.

### PORT JACKSON—THE SYDNEY DISTRICT.

CUMBERLAND AND CAMDEN COUNTIES—HUNTER'S RIVER AND MANTLAND—  
PORT STEPHENS—PORT MACQUARIE—MORETON BAY—THE DUBOIS—  
WIDE BAY—THE BUNYA-BUNYA—DR. LEICHHARDT—THE BROWN-WINGED  
PIGEON.

PORT JACKSON is the fittest centre from which to take a survey of the settled and inhabitable districts in Australia; being not only the finest harbor and the port of the greatest Australian city, but the inlet and outlet for commerce; having the wealthiest and most dense population in the whole island.

The usual course to Sydney for sailing vessels is through Bass' Straits, and in fair weather, with a favorable wind, ships frequently pass sufficiently near the shore to afford an agreeable but very tantalizing view of the scenery.

"The shore is bold and picturesque, and the country behind gradually rising higher and higher into swelling hills of moderate elevation, to the utmost distance the eye can reach, is covered with wide-branching, evergreen forest trees and close brushwood, exhibiting a prospect of never-failing foliage, although sadly monotonous and dull in tone as compared with the luxuriant summer foliage of Europe. Grey rocks at intervals project among these endless forests, while here and there some gigantic tree, scorched dead by the summer fires, uplifts its blasted branches above the green saplings around."\*

\* Cunningham.

Approaching Port Jackson, the coast line consists of cliffs of a reddish hue. Where the land can be seen, shrubs and trees of strange foliage are found flourishing on a white, sandy, barren soil, destitute of herbage.

The entrance to the port is marked by the north and south heads, about three quarters of a mile apart. On the southern head a stone lighthouse, bearing the often-repeated name of Macquarie, affords a revolving flame at night and a white landmark by day to the great ships from distant quarters of the globe, and to the crowd of large-sailed coasters which ply between innumerable coast villages and Sydney.

Steering westerly, the great harbor, like a land-locked lake, protected by the curving, projecting heads from the roll of the Pacific storms, opens out until lost in the distance, where it joins the Paramatta River. The banks on either hand, varying from two to five miles in breadth, are sometimes steep and sometimes sloping, but repeatedly indented by coves and bays, which, fringed with green shrubs down to the white sandy water-margin, when bathed in golden sunlight, presents dainty retreats as brilliant as Danby's Enchanted Island.

On one of the first and most romantic coves in Vaucluse the marine villa of William Wentworth is situated.

Five miles from the heads, on "Sydney Cove," stands the city of Sydney, the head-quarters of the Governor-General, the residence and episcopal city of the Bishop of Australia, and the greatest wool port in

the world. The still waters, alive with steamers passing and repassing, with ships of English and American flags, and a crowd of small craft, yachts, and pleasure-boats, betoken the approach to a centre of busy commerce, even before the church spires show themselves against the sky. In this city, which has been too often described to need any detailed account here, every comfort and every luxury of Europe is to be obtained that can be purchased with money.

The entrance to Port Jackson is so safe and easy that the American surveying ships ran in at night without a pilot ; and when the inhabitants rose in the morning they found themselves under the guns of a frigate carrying the stars and stripes.

Vessels of considerable burden can unload alongside the quays.

Sydney Cove is formed by two small promontories, between which the rivulet flows which induced Governor Phillip to choose this site for his settlement, as it possessed a safe harbor, wood, and water, three essential points, although not alone sufficient to support a flourishing colony. The first harbor is of little value, unless it is the outlet to a country capable of producing some exports.

Tanks were cut for storing the water of the fresh-water stream during the summer ; but, the increase of the town having rendered this supply insufficient, water was brought from Botany Bay ; and, recently, further extensive works have been executed, by which an aqueduct is brought from Cook's River, where a dam has been built to exclude the salt water.

Along the hollow formed by the two promontories or ridges, where the native track through the woods down to the water's edge, formerly George-street, extends, and which holds in the colonial metropolis the relative ranks of the Strand and Regent-street, London, combined, there, until recently, stately plate-glass shops were to be found side by side with wooden huts.

The harbor of Port Jackson affords an almost unlimited line of deep water, along which, when needed by the extension of commerce, quays and warehouses may be erected at a very trifling expense, so great are its natural dock advantages; many of the coves in Port Jackson are even now as much in a state of nature as when Captain Phillip first discovered it. As a central point for the commerce of the Australian seas, it is not probable that it can ever be superseded as a maritime station even by any other colonies planted in a more fertile situation, although it may be asserted that, with rare exceptions, the land for a hundred miles round Sydney is a sandy desert. But roads, railroads, and steamers will afford Sydney the advantages of the produce of districts which have no such harbor as Port Jackson.

Cumberland and Camden were the two counties first settled. Cumberland is the most densely-populated district in Australia, and has the poorest soil; a belt of land parallel to the sea, from twenty to forty miles in breadth, is either light sand, dotted with picturesque, unprofitable scrub, or a stiff clay or iron-stone, thickly covered with hard-wood timber and



underwood. After passing this belt, to which the colonists confined themselves for more than ten years, with a few spirited exceptions, the soil improves a little; that is to say, narrow tracks of a rich alluvial character are found on the banks of the rivers, but the greater proportion consists of forest on a poor, impenetrable soil, which defies the perseverance of the most skilled agriculturist: the deeper you go the worse it is.

Camden has a moderate extent of cultivable land, including the singular district of Illawarra, which is at once one of the most beautiful and fertile spots in the world, in regard both to the luxuriance and variety of its vegetable productions. The pastures of Camden are extensive, and were considered important until the discovery of the western and southern plains.

These are almost the only counties much named colonially; other parts of the colonies are chiefly known as districts, and the counties which fill up so much space on the maps are seldom named. We give a list of them with population in another chapter.

The dryness of the counties of Camden and Cumberland, in which, in the course of the year, nearly as much rain falls as in the counties of Essex and Sussex, is greatly owing to the stiff clay of which the soil is chiefly composed, through which the rain cannot easily filter, or from which springs can with difficulty burst forth. Boring on the artesian plan has been recently adopted with success.

To describe in detail the character of each county and each district would be a difficult, an intermina-

ble, and, to the reader, a wearisome task. Many, after being charmed with the exquisitely picturesque appearance of Port Jackson and Sydney, on a very cursory inspection of the surrounding country, come to the conclusion that the whole province of New South Wales is a barren desert, only fit for feeding sheep, — a conclusion which is not more correct than to judge of the agricultural capabilities of England by Dartmoor, or of France by the “Landes.”

Within the Sydney district are the towns of Parramatta, Windsor, and Liverpool; but, in consequence of the dispersion incident to the pastoral pursuits which have hitherto formed the chief employment of Australia, there are really no towns in the European sense of the word, with the exception of the three capitals, Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide, and Geelong in Victoria, which, being the port to a rich district, is likely to rival Melbourne. The other towns with imposing names are mere villages, with a gaol, a magistrate's office, some stores, and a great many public-houses.

Taking Sydney as the starting-point, we propose to survey the general features of the settled and pastoral districts, proceeding first towards the north, and returning to Port Jackson, traveling along the coast to the other two colonies.

The three great colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, late Port Phillip, and South Australia, occupy a continuous coast line, extending from Wide Bay, in New South Wales, to Cape Adieu, in South Australia. With the exception of the small and unsuc-

cessful colony of Western Australia, or Swan River, the remaining coast line of this island-continent is unsettled, and only inhabited by wandering savages or stray parties of whalers and sealers. Attempts have been made more than once to form settlements in Northern Australia, but they have been abandoned, and will not probably be renewed until the older colonists find the need of further extensions inland, or some coal stations are established for the numerous steamers which are now plying between England and the gold regions.

The three colonies are only divided by imaginary lines, so easy are the means of inland intercommunication. Overland journeys have been executed between all by parties driving great herds over an untracked country.

The principal ports to the north of Port Jackson are Broken Bay, the mouth of the River Hawkesbury, up which vessels of one hundred tons can proceed for four miles beyond the town of Windsor, which is one hundred and forty miles by the river, and about forty miles in a direct line from the coast. Broken Bay is not a safe harbor, being much exposed to the east and south-east as well as the north-west winds.

Port Hunter is the mouth of the Hunter River, which receives the waters of the Rivers Williams and Paterson. It is navigable for about thirty-five miles by waterway, and twenty-five miles in a direct line from the coast. This stream was formerly called the Coal River. On the bay sheltered by Nobby Island stands Newcastle, a town which owes its name of

importance to the coal-fields by which it is surrounded. The soil in the neighborhood is for the most part barren. On the opposite northern shore of the bay are East and West Maitland, the outports of the great squatting district of Liverpool Plains; and, four miles further, Morpeth, the port of the Hunter's River Company. A regular steam-boat traffic in all the produce of the Hunter's River district is carried on between Morpeth, Maitland, Newcastle, and Sydney, from which they are distant about eighty miles, the cheapness of steam communication having led to the abandonment of the road formed at immense cost by convict labor over the mountainous, barren country inland between Sydney and the Hunter's River.

The Hunter's River is subject to droughts, but otherwise one of the oldest and finest agricultural districts. Vine cultivation is carried on there successfully, on a large scale. Its tributaries, the Williams and Paterson Rivers, are both navigable for a greater distance than the Hunter, the Williams uniting at twenty miles and the Paterson at thirty-five miles from Newcastle. They give access to districts which are cooler and better supplied with rain than the Hunter.

Maitland owes its double name to the government having laid out East Maitland during the land-buying mania, with its usual infelicity, three miles up the river, at a point too shallow for steam-boats to approach; on which shrewd speculators laid out West Maitland along-side the deep water. Thus a

town of a single street, with inns for the accommodation of squatters, sprang up.

The country round is flat, sometimes flooded, and produces fine crops of wheat and Indian corn. Along the Paterson the country is undulating and fertile, surrounded by hills which attract rain, and render it better adapted for cattle than sheep. Tobacco cultivation has been successfully pursued: thriving farms occupy the banks of the rivers, which fetch a good price, either to sell or rent. Kangaroos, plentiful a few years ago, are becoming scarce; but wild ducks may be shot on the river, and good fish caught.

In April the winter sets in and continues until September, with nights cold enough to make a fire pleasant, and sharp frost at daybreak.

In October the summer commences, and the wheat harvest in November. Then in the Hunter district the hot winds commence, blow for three days, and not unfrequently blight wheat just coming into ear: they are usually succeeded by a sharp southerly gale, accompanied by rain, which soon makes everything not actually blighted look green again. This more particularly refers to the Paterson. At Segenhoe, one of the most beautiful estates in New South Wales, which extends in romantic park-like scenery for six miles along the River Hunter, in the county of Brisbane, three years have sometimes elapsed before the fall of rain.

The Hunter River may be considered a favorable specimen of an accessible and long-settled district.

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The river is now not only the means of communication by the sea for the produce of its immediate territory, but also for all the wool and all the supplies interchanged by the great squatting district of New England and Liverpool Plains, to which access is obtained by a deep cleft through a spur of the Australian Cordilleras, called the Liverpool Range, which bounds the Liverpool Plains in a northerly direction. A great and increasing steam communication exists between Sydney and the River Hunter.

Port Stephens is a large estuary fifteen miles in length and contracted to about a mile in breadth in the centre, into which the Rivers Karuah and Myall flow. The Karuah is navigable for twelve miles only for small craft to Booral, a village built by the Australian Agricultural Company. The valley of the Karuah, in the county of Gloucester, is chiefly in the possession of the Australian Agricultural Company, and pronounced by Count Strzelecki one of the finest agricultural districts in the colony. The company in England were desirous of opening it to colonization, as they found farming and stockfeeding at the distance of sixteen thousand miles an unprofitable pursuit; but their resident servants threw so many obstacles in the way that the project failed, and within one hundred miles of Sydney colonization is checked by a monopolist oasis.

On this estate some of the rarest birds of Australia are found. The wonga wonga pigeon (*Leucosarcia picata*) is a large bird, with white flesh, excellent eating, with handsome black-patched plumage, which

spends most of its time upon the ground, "feeding upon the seeds of stones of the fallen fruits of the towering trees under whose shade it dwells, seldom exposing itself to the rays of the sun, or seeking the open part of the forest, whence when disturbed it rises with a loud fluttering, like a pheasant. Its flight is not of long duration, being merely employed to remove it to a sufficient distance to avoid detection by again descending to the ground or mounting the branch of a tree. It is a species which bears confinement well."

In Port Stephens harbor, at certain times of the year, the aborigines may be seen fishing and disporting in their canoes, harmless, but in their habits as uncivilized as when their ancestors were seen by Cook and Dampier.

The park-like scenery, the neatness of the cottages provided by the company for their servants, the richness of the vegetation, and the fertility of gardens full of the choicest fruits and flowers, render this one of the counties which the traveler who can afford the time should visit, as it affords a pleasing contrast to the dry, barren country round Sydney, in the county of Cumberland.

From Booral the Australian Company have an overland communication with their stations on Liverpool Plains, but they ship most of their wool at the Hunter.

In the orchards of the Australian Agricultural Company at Port Stevens, Count Strzelecki mentions that he saw an example of the extensive range which the

beautiful climate of New South Wales embraces in its isothermal lines — the English oak flourishing by the side of the banana, which again was surrounded by vines, lemons, and orange trees of luxuriant growth. "To the southward of Port Stephens are a series of thriving farms spreading along the Goulburn, Pages, Hunter, Paterson, and Williams Rivers, which comprise an agricultural district of 2,000 square miles in extent. The excellent harbor of Newcastle, good water and tolerable roads, a coal mine, soil well adapted for wheat, barley, turnips, the vine, and European fruits, and a situation most favorable to the application of irrigation, render this district one of the richest and most important in the colony."

And Captain Stokes, in "The Voyage of the Beagle," says, "A change took place in the features of this portion of the eastern coast: a number of conical hills, from four to six hundred feet in height, presented themselves. Two very remarkable headlands, Wacaba and Tomare, constitute the entrance points of Port Stephens. The sea face of Tomare is a high line of cliffs.

"On the side of a hill, two miles and a half within the narrowest part of the harbor, is Tahlee, the residence of the superintendent. It stands on the crest of a steep, grassy slope, over which are scattered numerous small, bushy lemon trees, the deep verdure of their foliage, interspersed with golden fruits, contrasting charmingly with the light green carpet from which they spring.

"At the foot of this declivity a screen of trees, ri-



sing to a considerable height, almost shuts out the view of the water, though breaks here and there allow small patches to be seen.

"I ascended to Booral, twelve miles up the river Karuah, where all goods are landed for the company's stations. The treasurer resides there in a charming cottage almost covered with roses and honeysuckles. About two miles within the entrance the river winds between high and steep banks, densely covered with creepers, acacias, and other vegetation of a tropical character, hanging in festoons, the ends floating in the water.

"We were as much delighted as surprised with the richness of the vegetation, when compared with its dry, parched appearance at Sydney — another striking characteristic of Australia."

The next harbor after leaving Port Stephens is Port Macquarie, which is the outlet of the rivers Hastings and Wilson.

Port Macquarie is a bar harbor, into which vessels drawing more than nine feet water cannot safely enter, but there is a good anchorage outside. The river Hastings cannot be ascended more than ten miles by vessels of any burden ; but from the mountains where it rises it flows in a full although not deep stream for fifty miles, traversing an undulating district, chiefly open forest.

Port Macquarie was first founded as a penal settlement. It is the commencement of a fertile semi-tropical district, extending to Moreton Bay, which was deservedly exciting attention until the gold discov-

eries drew enterprise and the stream of emigration in another direction.

The following striking picture is from the work of a gentleman who was the first to draw public attention to this fine district : \*

“ On entering the surf of the bar of Port Macquarie, immediately beyond the last breaker, the mirror-like surface of the river extends in a long reach, whilst on the left, dark serpentine rocks protect the smooth round eminence, covered with greensward, and crowned by a signal-post, fire-beacon, and windmill. A little further on is the town, built on a gentle rise, the tall, square church-tower rising conspicuously in the highest part. A grove of magnificent trees encircles the port, whilst, turning to the west and north-west, appears a wide extent of forest country, the windings of the valley among the mountain ranges through which the River Wilson flows ; Mount Caoulapatamba being sufficiently near to enable one to distinguish every tree on its grassy declivities.”

The soil of the country in the county of Cumberland round Sydney appears barren, the vegetation harsh and dismal, but “ on the coast of Port Macquarie dense thickets of cabbage-palms and myrtle-trees extend down the rocky declivities, even within reach of the spray, and every unwooded patch is covered with grass, while the lofty forest rising luxuriantly close to the sea presents a striking contrast to the

\* “Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay, first explored and surveyed by Clement Hodgkinson.”

stunted *Banksia* thickets and disiccated shrubs on the sandstone round Sydney. The mountains approaching near the coast collect vapors from the sea, and cause frequent rains; in summer heavy thunderstorms mitigate the heat."

The River Hastings was discovered by Mr. Oxley, a late surveyor-general, on the report of two shipwrecked mariners whom he rescued on the coast.

It has been calculated that there are twelve million fertile acres well watered by small streams. The dividing range of mountains rises upwards of six thousand feet; on the other side lie the Liverpool Plains, one of the finest sheep districts in the colony. A road has been made across the mountains for bringing wool down to Port Macquarie.

Shoal Bay, the next harbor, is the embouchure of the River Clarence, navigable for steamers for more than fifty miles, flowing through a rich and fertile country: large boats have ascended as far as ninety miles. It was surveyed and made public in 1839 by a private expedition under the charge of S. Perry, Esq., deputy surveyor-general, but had previously been discovered and settled by a party of cedar cutters. The average width is from 450 to 600 yards, with a depth of from six to twenty feet water, the banks from ten to twenty-five feet above high-water mark.

It is right to mention that this district and the immediate plains lying between Richmond River, forty miles north of Shoal Bay, and as far north as Wide Bay, are all taken up and stocked under squatting

licences. The soil is rich and the water advantages superior, but the climate more hot and less healthy than the plains on the other side of the way.

“The country available for grazing at this river is of excellent quality, generally level, and affords greater facilities for shipping wool than at Port Macquarie.”

The next port and centre and site of the capital of all this district is Moreton Bay, into which flows the Brisbane River, discovered by Mr. Oxley, on an exploring expedition, in December, 1828. He reported that “when examining Moreton Bay we had the satisfaction to find the tide sweeping up a considerable inlet between the first mangrove island and the mainland. A few hours ended our anxiety: the water became perfectly fresh, and no diminution had taken place in the size of the river after passing Sea Beach. The scenery was peculiarly beautiful; the country along the banks alternately hilly and level, but not flooded; the soil of the finest description of good brush land, on which grew timber of great magnitude, some of a description quite unknown to us, among others a magnificent species of pine.\* Up to this point the river was navigable for vessels not drawing more than sixteen feet water. The tide rose about five feet, being the same as at the entrance. We proceeded about thirty miles further, no diminution having taken place in either the depth or the breadth of the river, except in one place, for the ex-

\* The pine forests mark the commencement and the boundaries of intertropical Australia.

tent of thirty yards, where a ridge of detached rocks extended across the river, not having more than twelve feet upon them at high water.

"From this period to Termination Hill the river continued nearly of uniform size. The tide ascends daily fifty miles up the mouth of the Brisbane. The country on either side is of very superior description, and equally well adapted for cultivation or grazing."

On Mr. Oxley's report, which further explorations have proved to be in no degree exaggerated, a penal settlement was founded at Brisbane, and, among other experiments for employing the prisoners, sugar was cultivated, until a flood swept the machinery away. There is no doubt that the climate and soil of the Moreton Bay district, by which it is better known than by its parliamentary title, county of Stanley, would produce sugar and cotton; but that those crops would be remunerative to capitalists at the present or probable price of labor in Australia is more than doubtful. Whether any tropical cultivation could be successfully carried on by families of small freeholders remains yet to be tried. At some future period, when New South Wales has the power of promoting colonization without consulting Downing-street, perhaps families of Germans of the classes who have at times settled with very little success in Brazil may be induced to try the experiment.

Moreton Bay is forty-five miles in length, and twenty in breadth, enclosed between the two islands of Stradbroke and Maitland. This harbor is rendered unsafe by many shoals, and narrow winding passages.

Moreton Bay Island is nineteen miles in length, and four and a half in breadth. It consists of a series of sand hills, one of which is nine hundred feet in height, quite barren in an agricultural point of view, but producing a cypress which is a good furniture wood.

The River Brisbane flows into the bay about the middle of its western side, with a bar on which there are not more than eleven feet of water at flood tide. Large vessels have to anchor above five miles off, under the shelter of one of the islands.

The towns of Brisbane, North and South, are fourteen miles from the mouth of the river, and thirty-five miles from Ipswich, on the River Bremer, an inland port for shipping wool from the Moreton Bay and Clarence districts.

Steam communication is maintained between Brisbane and Ipswich, and between Moreton Bay and Sydney.

From Moreton Bay a considerable trade is carried on with Sydney, and other less-favored settlements, especially the Moreton Bay pine (*Auracaria Cunninghami*), which is of the same quality as the Norfolk Island pine, as well as wool and tallow, the staples of the country.

In the bay and on the coast the aborigines eagerly pursue the dugong, a species of small whale, generally known to the colonists as the sea-pig. The head of the dugong is small in proportion to his body, and is most singularly shaped. The upper lip is very thick and flattened at the extremity. It is to this

queer looking snout, we presume, that the animal is indebted for the swinish cognomen by which it is ordinarily known. The dugong has a thick, smooth skin, with a few hairs scattered over its surface. Its color is bluish on the back, with a white breast and belly. In size the full grown male has never, we believe, been found more than eighteen or twenty feet long; but those commonly taken are much less than this.

The food of the dugong consists chiefly of marine vegetables, which it finds at the bottom of inlets, in comparatively shallow water, where it is easily captured. Its flesh resembles good beef, and is much esteemed. The oil obtained from its fat is peculiarly clear and limpid, and is free from any disagreeable smell, such as most animal oils are accompanied with. It has not yet been produced in sufficient quantities to acquire a recognized market value.

The blacks devour the carcass roasted, after expressing the oil for sale to the colonists. A perfumer in Sydney tried to convert this oil into a new mixture for the hair: unfortunately, on experiment on himself and wife, it produced baldness instead of luxuriance; yet its appearance is as fine as sperm.

Behind Moreton Bay, on the other side of the mountain range, forming a district of high table land and cool temperature, are the Darling Downs, a magnificent sheep country, which is also accessible from the Clarence River.

The climate of the Moreton Bay district, like nearly

- all the district north of Port Macquarie, is too hot for wheat, which grows luxuriantly, but is subject to blight: for sheep and cattle there is no finer country, and maize and all semi-tropical productions grow in perfection. Grapes ripen, but are too subject to frosts to make good wine.

A very short distance from the town of Brisbane, the clearings end, and the forest commences, now green trees, then pine, then open plains, and well-watered valleys.

The rainy season of this intertropical region has been graphically described by Mr. Mossman:

“Masses of dense scud rise up from the Pacific Ocean towards the interior, until they are checked by the southerly wind blowing over the higher, colder New England country on the other side of the mountain ranges), and packed into a uniform mass shrouding the heavens; a stifling sultriness succeeds, the lightning bursts forth from the lurid gloom, flash succeeds with fearful rapidity—now forked from the zenith, anon like a chain around the verge of the horizon, while the crash of thunder resounds. The flood-gates of the black canopy are opened—the rain descends in torrents with a loud pattering—soon the narrow tributaries of the river are swollen, some rising as much as fifty feet in twelve-hours—the surrounding plains are deluged. In the five months of rain, the earth becomes saturated, the forests drip continually, while the nearly vertical sun creates a warm, humid, unhealthy atmosphere.”

Ophthalmia and general debility follow this kind



of weather ; but the author of the passage just quoted considers that if Indian bungalows were erected by the settlers, instead of naked English cottages, many of the ill effects of the rainy season would be avoided.

In the Moreton Bay districts may be found many establishments containing all the luxuries of Europe—elegant houses, gardens, libraries, music, pictures, and wives in Parisian bonnets.

Wide Bay, beyond Moreton Bay, and the boundary of the county of Stanley, is the last port of the colony of New South Wales : it receives the waters of the Mary Fitzroy River. The land is undulating, well timbered, covered with good grass, and suited for horned stock. Within the last five years a considerable number of stations have been formed there, and the country taken up in cattle runs for more than 200 miles in the interior. Gold, too, has been found in small quantities in this district. In the 27th parallel of the Wide Bay district grows the bunya-bunya tree, a species of pine, often from seventeen to twenty feet in circumference, and upwards of one hundred feet in height, which, once in three years, yields a harvest of cones about a foot long and three quarters in diameter, containing seeds or kernels, which the natives triennially journey to collect, roast, and eat, afterwards enjoying the relaxation of a little fighting.

Orders have been issued by the colonial government that no stations be planted and no stock run in this bunya-bunya country, which occupies a space of about fifty miles by ten in breadth. It will be difficult to enforce this order.

Dr. Leichardt, one of the scientific travelers who has, we fear, like Cunningham, Gilbert, and Kennedy, fallen a victim to his adventurous courage in an attempt to penetrate overland to Swan River, passed some time in the Moreton Bay district, preparing himself for the successful journey he afterwards made overland, in 1844, to Port Essington in Northern Australia. In a letter addressed to Professor Owen, which is quoted in that eminent physiologist's "Report on the Extinct Mammals of Australia," read at the annual meeting of the British Association, July, 1845, and which accompanied a box of fossil bones from Darling Downs, he describes his life in terms which sound sadly and strangely affecting, now that we have so much reason to fear that, after succeeding in his first, he has perished in his second enterprise :

"Living here as the bird lives which flies from tree to tree—living on the kindness of a friend fond of my science, or on the hospitality of the settler and squatter—with a little mare, I traveled more than 2,500 miles, zigzag, from Newcastle to wide Bay, being often my own groom, cook, washerwoman, geologist and botanist, at the same time; and I delighted in this life. When next you hear of me, it will be either that I am lost and dead, or that I have succeeded in penetrating through the interior to Port Essington."

Leichardt set out on this expedition, and left Timba, the last station on the Darling Downs, September, 1844, and reached Port Essington in December of the same year. The privations he endured were terrible.

Mr. Gilbert, a naturalist in the employment of Mr. Gould, fell a sacrifice to the savages. More than once the bronze-winged pigeon, flying to water, saved them from dying of thirst.

To the parties engaged in this expedition, the Legislative Council voted £1,000, and £1,500 was raised by private subscription for the same purpose. Of these two sums, £1,450 were presented to Dr. Leichardt. He lost no time in preparing a second expedition, for the purpose of "exploring the interior of Australia, the extent of Sturt's Desert, and the character of the western and north-western coast, and to observe the gradual change in vegetation and animal life from one side of the continent to the other."

This expedition set out in December, 1846, and was expected to occupy not less than two years and a half in reaching Swan River. The following is the last letter ever received from him, addressed to a friend in Sydney :

"I take the last opportunity of giving you an account of my progress. For eleven days we traveled from Mr. Birell's station, on the Condamine, to Mr. Macpherson's, on the Fitzroy Downs. Though the country was occasionally very difficult, yet everything went on well. My mules are in excellent order, my companions in excellent spirits. Three of my cattle are footsore, but I shall kill one of them to-night to lay in our necessary stock of dried beef.

"The Fitzroy Downs, over which we traveled for about twenty-two miles from east to west, is indeed a splendid region, and Sir Thomas Mitchell has not exaggerated their beauty in his account. The soil is pebbly and sound, and richly grassed, and, to judge from the myall, of most fattening quality. I came right on Mount Abundance, and passed over a gap of it with my whole train. My latitude agreed well with Mitchell's. I fear that the absence of water

on Fitzroy Downs will render this fine country to a great degree unavailable. I observe the thermometer at 6 A. M. and P. M., which are the only convenient hours. I have tried the wet thermometer, but I am afraid my observations will be very deficient. I shall, however, improve on them as I proceed. The only serious accident that has happened was the loss of a spade; but we are fortunate enough to make it up on this station, where the superintendent is going to spare us one of his.

"Though the days are still very hot, the beautiful, clear nights are cool, and benumb the musquitoes, which have ceased to trouble us. Myriads of flies are the only annoyance we have.

"Seeing how much I have been favored in my present progress, I am full of hope that our Almighty Protector will allow me to bring my darling scheme to a successful termination.

"Your most sincere friend,

"LUDWIG LEICHARDT.

"MR. MACPHERSON'S STATION, COGOON, *April 3, 1848.*"

In 1852 it seems hopeless ever to expect to hear of brave Leichardt.

It would be impossible in any reasonable space to convey a correct idea of the physical character of a country like Melbourne, Port Jackson and Wide Bay, which extends over more than eight hundred miles of coast range alone. But the distinctive features of this north-eastern coast, as far as Moreton Bay, have been very clearly summed up by Mr. Clement Hodgkinson, in his before-quoted work :

"First. Its geological formation, which, instead of being sandstone, which so generally predominates on the Hunter, consists of rocks of primitive or transition origin, such as granite, trap, ancient limestone, slates, &c., all which in Australia furnish, by their decomposition, a much more fertile surface than sandstone.

"Secondly. The mountainous nature of the country, the great altitude of the mountains exceeding six thousand feet above the level of the sea, and their proximity to the coast.

"Thirdly. The abundance of water and the proximity of navigable rivers. From Moreton Bay to Macquarie, in 270 miles of coast, there are nine rivers with bar harbors, which can be entered by coasting vessels and small steamers, viz, the Brisbane, Tweed, Clarence, Bellergeren, Macleary, Hastings, Camden Haven, and the Manning.

"Lastly. The fitness of the rich alluvial soil, which extends in continuous narrow borders of brush land along these rivers, for tropical cultivation (if labor could be applied at not too great a cost at clearing away the brush)."

Thus it will be observed that the north and north-eastern track of New South Wales, lying between the mountains and the sea, is exempt from the aridity which characterizes a large portion of Australia.

Retracing our steps, we will now take a glance at what may be called the transmontane regions, lying parallel to the coast district just described, separated by the dividing range of the Blue Mountains, or, as it has lately been termed, the Australian Cordilleras.

Passing the dividing range which separates the hot lower countries, watered by the Brisbane and the Clarence, we reach Darling Downs, (discovered by Allan Cunningham, the king's botanist, in 1830, when he traveled from Sidney to Moreton Bay by land), which are watered by the river of the same name. These

downs are part of a system of high table lands continued toward the north, where its boundaries are indefinite, by the Fitzroy Downs, discovered by Sir Thomas Mitchell in 1846, and toward the south by the New England district and the Liverpool Plains, bounded on the south by the great dividing or Liverpool range, through which Pandora's Pass gives exit to the Hunter River; and thus, with intervals of mountain range or desert, a series of pastoral plains run parallel with the interior of the mountain range which encircles the eastern coast of Australia, including the Goulburn, Bathurst district, the Maneroo or Brisbane Downs, and the Murray district, which flow into, if we may use the term, the province of Victoria. And in this series of pastoral plains the climate is considerably modified by their altitude above the sea. It was these plains, where fine-wooled sheep increase and multiply at the least possible expense, which first gave exports and wealth to Australia. Before the shepherd and his flock, the savage and the emu gradually disappear.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### JOURNEY FROM PORT JACKSON TO PORT PHILLIP.

BOTANY BAY — ILLAWARRA — RAILWAY TO JERVIS BAY — TWOFOLD BAY —  
BOYD TOWN AND EDEN — PORT PHILLIP BAY — WILLIAMS' TOWN — MEL-  
BOURNE — GEELONG — PORTLAND BAY — DIVISIONS OF VICTORIA PROV-  
INCE — GIPPS' LAND — DISCOVERY — THE LYRE BIRD OF GIPPS' LAND —  
GRASS TREES — THE PHEASANTS OR MOCKING BIRDS OF AUSTRALIA.

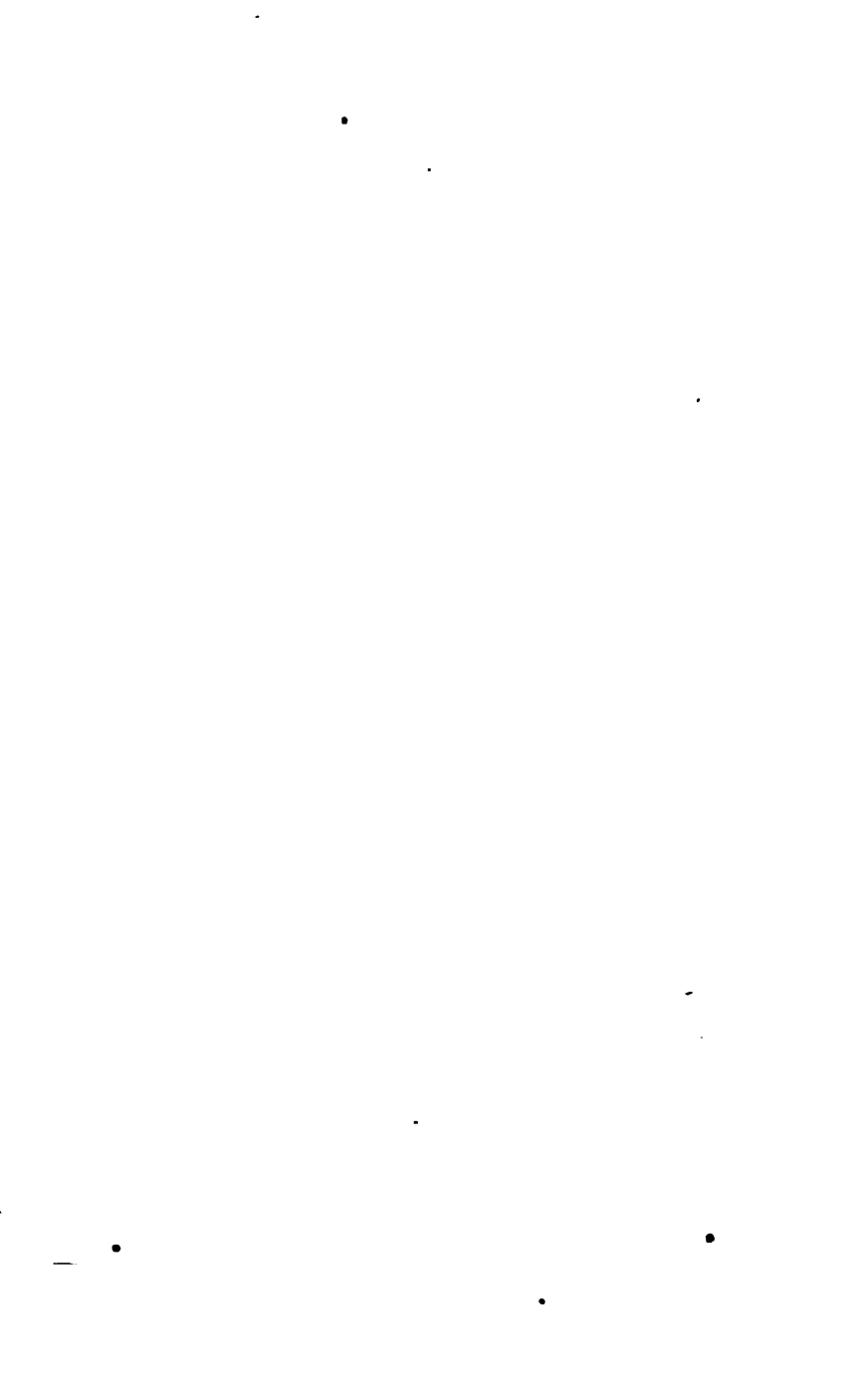
IN traversing the coast from Port Jackson to Port Phillip there is a singular absence of good harbors. The first, Botany Bay, fourteen miles from Port Jackson, receives the waters of the George River, on which the township of Liverpool was planted by Macquarie, but has not flourished; and the Cook's River, which has been dammed, for the purpose of affording a supply of fresh water to Sydney. Botany Bay is unsheltered, and offered indifferent accommodations for small vessels. A brass plate on the cliffs marks the spot where Captain Cook first landed; and the stranger may drink from the well of fresh water opened by the illustrious navigator.

Between Botany Bay and Shoalhaven is Illawarra, also known as the Five Islands, one of the most fertile and wildly beautiful districts in the world, which, from the peculiarity of its situation, bounded by the sea for eighteen miles, running north and south, and by a mountain chain, which encircles about 150,000 acres, unites the peculiarities of both temperate and

**BLADES UNDER GUNTAR.**







tropical climates, — a sort of Norway or Switzerland rocks, lakes, fat alluvial valleys, under a southern sun, tempered by breezes from the sea. We descend from the landward side by crossing a range of hills 1,500 feet in height, so precipitous that it is difficult for a horseman to ride down, and, without dismounting, impossible for a loaded dray.

The communication with Sydney, which it supplies with large quantities of fruit, vegetables, and agricultural produce, is chiefly carried on by coasters from the small harbor of Wollongong, a favorite resort for invalids. Here is a celebrated show garden, where may be seen fruits and watercress, with oranges, pomegranates, nectarines, and bananas. Here is Illawarra Lake, too, than which it is scarcely possible to conceive anything more picturesquely beautiful, environed by rocks and tropical vegetation, peopled with bright-colored birds.

At Illawarra the palm and the tree-fern flourish, and from land as fertile and cultivation as careful as that of Devonshire. A short walk may bring you to a camp of aborigines, sheltering from the warm rain beneath their gunyah, the nearest approach to a hut which these poor creatures have contrived.

Jervis Bay is eighty miles from Sydney, with an entrance two miles wide, and an inner harbor three leagues in length, safe for ships of the heaviest burden, with access to ample supplies of wood and water, and presents a total change of climate. Unfortunately, this fine port is surrounded by a hopelessly barren country. It has been suggested by Mr.

Ralfe, an experimental Australian surveyor, that Jervis Bay should become the terminus of a railway from the Bathurst district.

A railway for wool and tallow would be a very doubtful speculation ; but recent events have laid the foundation for more important exports and imports. Perhaps by following the course of streams it would be possible to find workable gradients for a tramway on the Welsh or American plan.

The next port, Bateman's Bay, the outlet of the Clyde River, is only accessible for coasters ; but it has recently come into notice from the discovery of the Australian gold-diggings, distant only thirty miles ; that thirty miles being over a country of so difficult a character that a party with loaded pack-horses were three days in crossing it.

The last harbor in the New South Wales district is Twofold Bay, 250 miles from Sydney, on which two townships have been founded, Eden by the government, and Boyd Town by the late Benjamin Boyd, with the funds of a Scotch company which he represented. Eden has never been anything better than a project at the expense of a few foolish land speculators. Boyd Town enjoyed a brief period of factitious prosperity, when the steamers, whalers, and yacht of the founder lay in harbor. It was at Boyd Town he appeared with almost viceroyal state, when laying the first stone of the never-lighted lighthouse ; and it was there that he landed the island cannibals whom he had purchased from their savage conquerors, with the view of reducing wages by introducing slavery into

Australia, rather than encourage shepherd families upon his boundless sheep-runs.

The steep range of hills which separates Twofold Bay from the vast squatting district of Maneroo has hitherto, in spite of a road constructed at much expense by Mr. Boyd, to a great degree neutralized its advantageous position as the only harbor for large ships on a long line of coast. It is still used as a station for shore whalers, almost the only station in the colony. There has been a great falling off in the whaling operations of the Sydney merchants. The Australian whalers are for the most part of from 200 to 300 tons burthen. All on board, from the captain downwards, are paid by a share of the oil procured, which share is called, in whalemens' parlance, a "lay," and is proportioned of course to the rank and ability of the man. There is one feature of this trade in the Pacific which is not generally known,—the intercourse of those who follow it with the tribes of Polynesia. Whaling captains generally seek some of the islands for the purpose of procuring supplies of provisions, or of repairing slight damages sustained at sea; because in the first place, they can obtain provisions there at infinitely less cost than in any of the colonial ports; and in the second place, they find it easier by this course to keep their men together. Supplies are frequently also procured in boats, without bringing the vessel to an anchor. These supplies, consisting of pigs and fowls, with yams, cocoanuts, bread-fruit, and other productions of a similar nature, are procured by barter: calicoes, hardware, common

trinkets, and other matters likely to be prized by the untutored islanders, being carried for that purpose. These articles are technically known as "trade." All the precautions which the captains can take are insufficient to prevent occasional desertion; and extraordinarily numerous as are the islands of the Pacific, there is scarcely one of them which has not one or more runaway sailors domesticated among the people who inhabit it.

From Twofold Bay, passing Cape Howe, which receives the point of the imaginary line dividing the provinces of New South Wales and Victoria, no harbor presents itself until we reach Corner Inlet, within which is Alberton, on the River Albert, the capital of the fine district of Gipps' Land, unfortunately obstructed by a bar. Then follows Western Port, discovered by George Bass in his whale-boat, a port formed by two islands. Leaving Western Port, we enter the now world-famous Port Phillip, an inland sea, which receives the ships whose cargoes or passengers are destined for the towns of Melbourne and Geelong.

The entrance to Port Phillip Bay is little more than one mile and a half across. On the one hand Point Nepean, a low, sandy promontory, like a rabbit warren without rabbits, at the base of the cape: beyond rises for a thousand feet Arthur's Seat, a woody range of hills, precipitous toward the sea, with barely room for a road between its foot and the flood-tide. In the distance, on the same margin, Mount Eliza, a range of hills, with extensive outline, mark the

bounds of Port Phillip Bay. On the other side the lowlands of Indented Head and Shortland Bluff present a dull scene, sprinkled with funereal shiaks or "she-oak trees."

The rush of waters through the narrow canal into the Great Lake, nearly fifty miles in length by twenty-five in breadth, which forms Port Phillip, in certain states of the wind and tide, creates a foaming, stormy whirl of water not a little alarming to the inexperienced landsman. Within the bay the waters calm down, and a beautiful and picturesque scene is unrolled.

At Port Phillip Bay the great dividing range which runs parallel at varying distances from the coast from Wide Bay, penetrating New South Wales under various names (the Blue Mountains near Sydney, the Australian Alps in Gipps' Land), seems to sink into the sea across Bass' Straits, where its course is marked by a chain of islands, and reappears with the same character in Van Diemen's Land.

Thus it is that, sailing up the bay, the scenery changes: the rugged cliffs and alpine ranges of the east coast give way to undulating grassy plains, sprinkled with picturesque hills. The western arm of Port Phillip, extending about twenty miles, opens the course to Geelong. In sailing up the bay the hills around Geelong appear covered with cultivation.

Ships of burden for Melbourne cast anchor in Hobson's Bay, at the mouth of the River Yarra, off Williams Town, which is built on a flat promontory, with three sides to the water. Williams Town was laid

out by Sir Richard Bourke as the seaport of Port Phillip, for which the situation affords advantages ; but the want of good drinking water has hitherto hindered it from making any progress since the years of the mania when town lots were sold there at a great price. It contains the harbor master's residence, two or three public-houses, a few butchers' shops, a clergyman's house, and a small temporary church. An aqueduct or water-pipes would soon make Williams Town an important place.

The shores of the Yarra are so even with Hobson's Bay that from the anchorage the entrance can scarcely be distinguished.

From Hobson's Bay, taking a boat for a mile, a walk or ride of a mile and a half will bring the traveler to Melbourne, but by the winding channel of the river, which is just wide and deep enough to admit the steamers which ply constantly from Sydney and Geelong, the distance is seven miles.

"Passing the junction of the Maryburrong, or Salt-water River, on the bank of which are beautiful villa sites, the Melbourne racecourse, and several establishments for boiling down sheep and cattle into tallow, which give out a most villainous odor, the city, of which only an indistinct glimpse was to be observed from the bay, comes in view ; the cathedral, a heavy building, without a tower or a steeple ; and the government offices, built of stone, without ornament, on the highest point of the hill." The voyage ends in a sort of pool, where steamers can find room to turn round and take up a berth alongside the quay. A

breakwater has been erected on the foundation of a natural ledge of rocks, which effectually divides the fresh water from the salt.

Melbourne occupies two sides of a valley, East Hill and West Hill, of very fertile soil. Inferior in port accommodation and picturesque beauty to Sydney, it has the advantage of being in the midst of productive corn-fields, gardens, vineyards, and pastures.

The principal street is a mile long, crossed at right angles by other streets of half that length: a macadamized causeway runs down the middle, leaving a strip on each side to be converted into mud in the rainy season. The footpaths for the most part are of gravel, with kerb-stones. So far there is an improvement. Some years ago a traveler was shocked the day after his arrival by seeing among the casual announcements in a local paper "Another child drowned in the Streets of Melbourne."

The buildings present the irregularity incident to all colonial towns: occasionally great gaps of building land are to be found representing investments made eight or ten years ago by absentee speculators. The chief lion work of Melbourne is a stone bridge across the Yarra, of the same size and proportions as the centre arch of London-bridge, which cost an enormous sum.

The population was about twenty thousand in 1851; what it is now would be difficult to say. It is to be feared that houses will be built more rapidly than the present streets will be drained and rendered whole-



some. The lower part of Melbourne is subject to sudden floods from the falling of rains and melting of snow in the range of hills in which the Yarra takes its rise. An Australian flood is "short, sharp, and decisive."

From the summit of either East or West Hill, by which the valley of Melbourne is formed, may be seen Mount Macedon, the crowning mountain of a range of the same name thirty-five miles from the city, three thousand feet in height, covered with open forests, and the richest vegetation of Australia. Thence may be viewed the richest mountain in the world, the Mount Byng of its discoverer Mitchell, the Mount Alexander in gold-digging records. To the north of Mount Alexander is Mount Hope, from the summit of which the weary eyes of Mitchell were gladdened by all the sylvan pastoral glories of "Australia Felix."

Fifty-four miles from Melbourne, by sea or by land, with access by steamers several times in the day, is Geelong, the western arm of Port Phillip, which "opens on the larboard hand of a vessel immediately upon clearing the shoals at the entrance of the Great Lake, standing between the miniature Bay of Corio with its picturesque green hills and sheltered water, and the River Barwon, which flows into the Lake Connemarra."

The situation in the centre of one of the best grazing and agricultural districts, near a gold-field, will probably render it an important town. A bar at the mouth of the harbor at present restricts the entry of

vessels drawing more than ten feet water; but this, it is thought, may be removed by dredging.

Should this be the case, the province of Victoria will enjoy the advantage of two excellent available ports, and have two great towns. In the other provinces there seems no probability of any rival competing with Sydney or Port Adelaide.

Forty miles from Geelong the Buninyong range forms part of the second series of mountains, after the termination of the Australian Alps. At Ballarat, one of the spurs of the Buninyong, the first gold-field in Victoria was worked, in the midst of plains of unequalled fertility.

In proceeding along the coast to the point where an engineering line divides Victoria from South Australia, the whole coast line of the former, being about 600 miles, the most important harbor is found in Portland Bay, 255 miles from Melbourne.

Three streams, none of them navigable, fall into this bay, which is little better than a roadstead, considered especially dangerous when the south-easterly gales, which prevail during the summer months, are blowing. The government has recently been compelled to pay one pound a ton more for vessels despatched to Portland Bay than to Hobson's Bay. The north shore is low; the western rises in bold cliffs, upwards of 150 feet.

It was at Portland Bay that one of the earliest settlements was formed by one of Messrs. Henty's whaling parties, on which the land explorers came, to their great surprise, after many

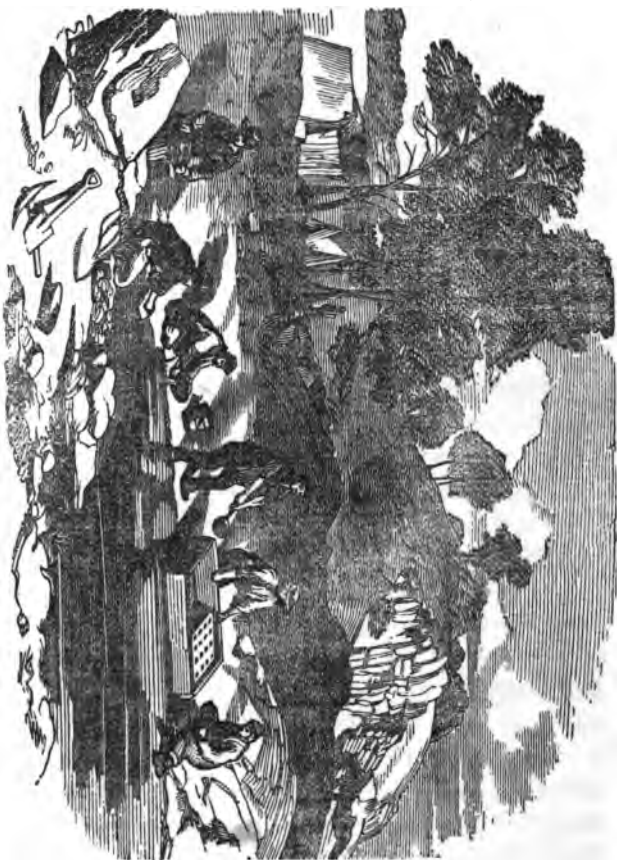
weeks's journey through an unknown, uninhabited country.

The Portland Bay district receives streams from the Grampians, a range running to the northward, of which Mount William, the extreme eastern point, is 4,500 feet in height. Mitchell ascended Mount Abrupt, on the south-eastern extremity of the Grampian range, and beheld from the edge of an almost perpendicular precipice, 1,700 feet in height, vast open plains bordered with forests and studded with lakes. "Certainly a land more favorable could not be found. Flocks might be turned out upon its hills, or the plow at once set agoing upon its plains. No primæval forests require to be first rooted out here, although there is as much timber as could be needed for utility or ornament." Australia Felix is one of the few regions in which the sanguine expectations of the discoverers have been realized.

It will be found on examining a map of the province of Victoria and of the Melbourne district, — and a most excellent one has been published by Mr. Ham, of Melbourne, — that it has three natural divisions. The central division, including Australia Felix and Mount Alexander, finds its natural port and capital in Melbourne. The western division, including Portland Bay, for want of a better harbor, finds its outlet chiefly at Geelong. The eastern division, including Gipps' Land, finds partly an outlet at Western Port; but Gipps' Land must export and import through Alberton.

Victoria has many streams and rivulets, but no

**GOLD WASHING AT BAYLAHAT.**





rivers which are navigable in the European sense of the term.

Gipps' Land was discovered by Count Strzelecki, C. B., who is equally eminent as a scientific traveler and philanthropist. The honor has been claimed by Dr. Lang for a stockman, who communicated his discovery to his employers some months before the count published his report. This is probable. Stockmen have been the first explorers of most of the finest pasture districts of Australia; but it is contrary to the custom and interest of squatters to make such discoveries public.

In the count's report to Sir George Gipps, he says, "Seventeen miles S. S. E. from Lake Omeo, a beautiful stream, the first of the eastern waters, soon assumed the breadth of a river, and appeared to be a guide into a country hitherto unoccupied by white men. A hilly country closes the valley, narrows the river banks, and brings the explorer across the mountain ridges to an elevation whence there is a view of the sea on the distant horizon; to the south-east an undulating country, with mountain ridges to the north-east. Approaching or receding from the river, according to the windings of its bordering hills, the descent into a noble forest is effected. A series of rich pasture valleys, prairies, and open forests, are intersected and studded with rivers, lakes, and wooded hills; the pastures opening out and sloping towards the sea." Strzelecki describes Gipps' Land, viewed from Mount Gisborne, as resembling a semi-linear amphitheatre, walled from north-east to south-west

by lofty picturesque mountain scenery, and sloping towards the south-east down to the sea.

In 1840 Strzelecki was engaged for twenty-six days in cutting his way through the scrub-covered ranges between Gipps' Land and Western Port, was obliged to abandon his packhorses, and he and his party did not escape without imminent danger both from famine and exhaustion.

In 1844 Mr. Hayden, with a party of twelve able-bodied men, including black native police, was instructed by the government to open up a practicable route for cattle from Western Port to Gipps' Land. He has published a very interesting account of his expedition, with some spirited illustrations. He was engaged thirty-five days in the task, and he, too, very nearly perished in the scrub; yet he considered himself well repaid for the famine and fatigue he had endured "by the sight of the fine plains—Barneys' Plains of the map—beyond the Glengarry." The good country lies upwards of fifty miles from the government township of Victoria, founded on the Albert River.

It is the opinion of Mr. Hayden that the greater part of the scrub country through which he traveled would be capable of cultivation if cleared. This scrubby tract is nowhere found in Victoria except between Gipps' Land and Western Port.

It was while performing this journey that he had an opportunity of closely examining the shy and curious lyre bird (*Memora superba*), which is peculiar to Australia, and only found on the south-eastern

coast. The settlers sometimes call it a pheasant, but it is in reality one of the thrush family. The lyre bird is so extremely shy that even the enthusiastic researches of Mr. Gould did not enable him to ascertain satisfactorily its breeding habits and the number of its eggs.

"I was awakened," writes Mr. Haydon, "at sunrise by the singing of numerous pheasants. These are the mocking-birds of Australia, imitating all sounds that are heard in the bush in great perfection; they are about the size of a small fowl, of a dirty brown color, approaching to black in some parts; their greatest attraction consists in the graceful tail of the cock bird, which is something like a lyre. But little is known of their habits, for it is seldom they are found near the dwellings of civilized man.

"Hearing one scratching in the scrub close to the dray, I crawled out, gun in hand, intending to provide a fresh meal for breakfast. The sun, having just risen, inclined it to commence its morning song; but the natural note (*bleu bleu*) was almost lost among the multitude of imitative sounds through which it ran—croaking like a crow, then screaming like a cockatoo, chattering like a parrot, and howling like the native dog—until a stranger might have fancied he was in the midst of them all. Creeping cautiously round a point of scrub, I came in view of a large cock bird, strutting round in a circle, scratching up the leaves and mould with his formidable claws, while feeding upon a small leech which is the torment of travelers, and spreading open his beautiful tail to



catch the rays of the sun as it broke through the dense forest. As I raised my gun, a piece went off within six feet of me; it was one of the black police who had blown the bird's head off that had been amusing me for more than an hour."

These birds when disturbed never rise high, but run off into the densest scrub, scarcely allowing a sportsman time to raise his piece before they are out of his reach. Even the aborigines, who are so skillful in creeping up to game of all kinds, seldom kill more than three brace in a day. Their song is not often heard during rain, or when the sun is obscured. "The nest is about three feet in circumference, and one foot deep, having an orifice on one side: they lay but one egg, of slate color with black spots. The female is a very unattractive bird, having but a poor tail, nothing like the male."

Gipps' Land, with its boundary of snow-capped, precipitous mountains, its pine plains, many lakes, and temperate climate, may be considered as one of the several contrasts of soil, climate, and vegetation, of which Darling Downs, Moreton Bay, Illawarra, and Bathurst, each afford different examples — variations which deserve more minute examinations than we can afford space to give, but which may be studied in the travels of Mitchell, Sturt, Leichardt, and Strzelecki.

In the last stage of Mr. Haydon's expedition, he passed some hours over grass-tree plains, which, although picturesque, present a very dismal idea to the settler, as where they grow, — and they are found

**GRASS TREE OF AUSTRALIA.**





throughout the coast range of the three colonies,—the district may be pronounced barren, except to the botanist.

“The grass (*Xanthorrhœa*) trees are from two to four feet, the crown of the leaves about four feet, and the flower-stem rising out of the midst of the fibre-like foliage from four to six feet.”

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## CHAPTER XVII.

### SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

**SOUTH AUSTRALIA — MOUNT LOFTY — MOUNT BARKER — CITY OF ADELAIDE —  
THE RIVERS MURRUMBRIDGE AND MURRAY — NAVIGATION OF THE MURRAY  
— CALCULATION FOR STEAM TRAFFIC — VARIOUS BIRDS OF SOUTH AUSTRA-  
LIA — DESCRIPTION OF ADELAIDE — MINES OF COPPER, LEAD, SILVER AND  
GOLD — THE BURRA BURRA — STATISTICS OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.**

THE River Glenelg, flowing into the sea, marks the natural boundary between the province of Victoria and that of South Australia, thence embracing a seaboard of about fifteen hundred miles, into which no river navigable by vessels of burden flows, and only two ports have, as yet, been found capable of safely accommodating ships of burden. As a compensation, inland journeys may be performed with little obstruction, on horseback or by drays, for hundreds of miles.

The first important indentation into the line of the coast is Encounter Bay; but there are coasting ports at Rivoli Bay and Guichen Bay, at which wool has

been shipped. Hopes were once confidently entertained of finding an entrance from the sea to the River •Murray, but it has unfortunately proved that this, the noblest stream in Australia, ends in the Lake Alexandrina, and is divided from the ocean by a barrier of land and a surf-beaten sea margin.

On rounding Cape Jervis, which forms the apex of the county of Hindmarsh, which is for the most part occupied by industrious settlers, although the promontory itself is rather barren, and only known for its shore whale-fishery. Kingscote Harbor and Nepean Bay, on the opposite shores of Kangaroo Island, appear excellent harbors, and one of them well supplied with water. Unfortunately, they lead to nothing. The buildings erected by the South Australian Company in 1837, were permitted to fall into decay. Recently, a few stock stations have been taken up on the island, and about one hundred persons are resident there.

The kangaroos, so numerous in Flinders' time, and the emus, have disappeared; and even the large white eagles that stooped upon his men, mistaking them for kangaroos, have become rare.

Entering St. Vincent's Gulf, and passing Holdfast Bay, where Governor Hindmarsh disembarked, and Mrs. Hindmarsh's piano was floated ashore through the surf—for it is no harbor at all, but a dangerous open roadstead—passing a number of seaside villages, Port Adelaide is reached, which, by dint of dredging and with the advantage of quays, has become a safe and convenient harbor, and, with the aid of the

intended railroad, will afford the city of Adelaide nearly as much convenience as if it had been planted on a navigable river, or on a deep harbor; that was impossible, since no site exists in South Australia combining a good harbor, agricultural land, and fresh water. No other port presents itself in St. Vincent's Gulf, unless we except Port Wakefield, to which vessels from Swansea, with cargoes of coal for smelting copper have recently been consigned. It has been proposed to construct a tramway between Burra Burra mines, and an attempt would have been made to execute this project, if the gold-diggings had not temporarily withdrawn all English speculation from South Australia.

The whole sea face of York Peninsula and Spencer's Gulf is unfavorable to the formation of a port and town, until we arrive at Port Lincoln, on the western arm of Spencer's Gulf, where a natural harbor could receive the largest squadron that ever went to sea — a landlocked estuary, protected at its mouth by Boston Island, with three arms or bays, Spalding Cove, Port Lincoln proper, and Boston Bay. But these harbors, viewed with so much admiration by seamen, are silent; no busy population labors on the shores, a few scattered flocks and herds are all that the mainland supports; and the allotments, which were competed for so eagerly in the years of land mania, are left to nature and a few wandering cattle.

On entering Port Lincoln, a white obelisk on the summit of a hill, erected to the memory of Flinders, on the spot whence he viewed the future province of

Australia, by Sir John Franklin, who was one of his officers, proves that a sailor had a better sense of what was due from the countrymen of a great man than the colonists who have been so largely benefited by his laborious investigations.

To pursue the coast line of the province of Victoria to 132 deg. of E. longitude, where it ends in a desert, would be useless, as no rivers or harbors break the line of, for the most part, the uninhabited coast.

Equally vain would it be to state, as foolish Australian advocates who do not know the value of truth frequently do, that Australia contains an area of three hundred thousand square miles, or nearly twenty millions of acres, without adding that a very large proportion of this vast space is occupied by stony deserts and lakes of mud. Nevertheless, enough of land remains, admirably fertile and well watered; to support a large population, much larger than is likely to occupy it for a long series of years. In the most inhospitable regions, copper, lead, silver and iron have been found; and there is no reason to doubt that gold will eventually be discovered.

The district in a north-westerly direction, between Port Lincoln and Streaky Bay, has been but imperfectly explored, and, with the exception of a few detached squatters' stations, settlement has not extended beyond the peninsula formed between the River Murray and St. Vincent's Gulf, the furthest inland township being founded by the Burra Burra mine, ninety miles from the capital.

South Australia is intersected by three mountain

ranges, Mount Lofty, Mount Barker, and Wakefield. The Mount Lofty range runs from north-west, and, after attaining a height of about 2,000 feet, twelve miles east of Adelaide, falls to the south-west, terminating in low cliffs on the seashore near Ockaparinga.

From these hills, Adelaide, in the valley of the Torrens, presents a scene, a green oasis in the midst of a bed of sand running like a riband along the sea by which it has been upheaved.

Capital farms occupy the foot of Mount Lofty, with a sure market in Adelaide. A steep road leads across the hills or mountains; on the other side rich but not extensive valleys are found; in one of these, twenty-four miles from Adelaide, is Hansdorf, one of three German settlements to which South Australia owes much in vine culture and sheep management. Beyond, parallel with Mount Lofty, is the Mount Barker range, the summit being 800 feet above the level of the surrounding country, which is about 1,699 feet above the level of the sea. The summit forms table land, on which there are some good cattle and sheep stations. This is the range which divides the waters that flow on the one side into the Murray and Lake Alexandrina, and on the other into Spencer's Gulf.

To the north of Adelaide a long tract of level, well watered country extends, which, at about one hundred miles distance, opens into a series of high, open downs.

The River Torrens, which formed so prominent a feature in early puffs and pictures of the colony, is not a river at all, but, like many of the misnamed



rivers of Australia, simply a watercourse, which, during the rainy season, rushes along furiously, ending in a marsh ; but when the rains cease the "river" becomes a mere chain of pools, un replenished with mountain springs, which shrink daily with the heat, like a farmyard, rain-filled pond, such as are common on the wolds of Lincolnshire. Colonel Light saw the Torrens when full of water, and that and the beauty of the valley decided his choice. Fortunately water is to be obtained in Adelaide by sinking wells at a very moderate expense ; and the same advantage is found on farms, and in the slopes of the neighboring hills. But in this instance of the Torrens, as in many others, the injudicious puffs of speculators reacted and threw undeserved discredit on the solid advantages of a very fine colony.

The river of South Australia is the Murray, which, rising in the Australian Alps, where its sources were discovered by Count Strzelecki near Mount Kosciusko, in Victoria, receives the waters of the Murrumbidgee, the Lachlan, and the Darling, and presents, at certain seasons of the year, so full and flowing a stream that the early colonists expected to draw down its waters the commerce of the squatting districts of Gass and Albury, in New South Wales ; for they calculated that the cheapness of an unbroken water communication would draw away the dray traffic, which was then and is now carried to Sydney. But the uncertain supply of water, and other obstacles in rocks and snags, have so far indefinitely adjourned project.

The Murrumbidgee rises in the dividing range of mountains in the Maneroo district, two hundred and fifty miles south-west of the city of Sydney, flows for five hundred miles, until it unites with the Lachlan at a point where the brave Sturt took a boat and descended to the sea in thirty-six days, when he discovered South Australia, returning in forty days — thus earning the title of the father of South Australia.

The early course of the Murrumbidgee is between hills steeply sloping, covered with herbage and creeping vines, down to the water's edge. "As I sat in a boat," writes a lady to the author, "I could see above me small, very small, cattle, in single file, now lost in the foliage, now reappearing, as, by zigzag, well worn paths, they descended to the water to drink. So lofty and steep were the cliffs that I fancied they would fall down upon me. At length they made their appearance at the edge of the stream, drinking beneath bowers of overhanging creepers — a huge bull and a mob of portly cows."

The space encircled between this river and the Murray (the Murray was formerly named the Hume by its discoverers, Hovel and Hume) is one of the fine squatting grounds of New South Wales. Higher up the stream the hills disappear, and long alluvial flats succeed. The Murrumbidgee spreads and loses some of its waters in the marshes of the Lachlan.

It is the peculiar character of the Murray and of the Darling and Murrumbidgee to flow hundreds of miles without receiving any tributaries.

The navigation of the River Murray has been the

subject of a commission appointed by Sir Henry Young, the present governor of South Australia ; and although the financial calculations of the commission have been questioned by a committee of the South Australian Legislative Council, it is presumed their facts may be relied on. They are quoted from the abstract of a gentleman (Mr. White) who has endeavored to obtain steamers to open the navigation of this river :

"In August, 1850, the Legislative Council of that province voted '£4,000 to be equally divided between the two first iron steamers of not less than forty-horse power, and not exceeding two feet draught of water when loaded, that shall successfully navigate the waters of the River Murray from the Goolwa to the junction of the Darling, computed to be about five hundred and fifty-one miles.'

"1st. The natural seamouth of the Murray cannot be entered, owing to the great surf that is constantly breaking on the Encounter Bay coast, and consequently any vessels intended to navigate the river would have to be constructed on the shores of the Lake Alexandrina.

"2nd. This lake, into which the river empties itself previous to its passage to the sea, is about thirty miles long by ten broad, and from six to eighteen fathoms deep, and fresh water is found about the middle.

"3rd. The river preserves an uniform width of about three hundred yards to the junction of the Darling, which latter river is about one hundred yards wide, and the width of the Murray is not materially altered onwards to the junction of the Murrumbidgee and the Lachlan. The soundings which have been made from the Lake to the Darling, in the months of September and October, give an average depth of two fathoms, or rather, this may be said to be the shallowest.

"The Murray is subject, like all the other streams in the country, to annual floods. It begins to rise toward the end of June, and continues rising until the end of January, generally from ten to twelve feet.

"The only impediments that occur are in the shape of snags or fallen trees, which in some places would have to be removed; but for this the assistance of the natives could be obtained, and up to the junction of the Darling they present no serious obstacle. This point being the limit of the province, the river beyond has not been surveyed; but from those who have descended it as far as the town of Albury (a distance of only three hundred and sixty miles from Sydney) it has been ascertained that, before steam-vessels of the smallest size could navigate it, the snags would have to be removed, though a canoe, drawing eleven inches of water, went the entire distance at a time when the river was lower than has been known within the memory of the 'white man.' From a point in the channel of the Goolwa, which is a stream issuing from the lake, and also one of the mouths of the Murray, it is proposed to lay down a railroad of seven miles in length to a point in Encounter Bay where a safe anchorage may be effected. In the event of any unforeseen difficulties occurring in the construction of Port Elliot, it would be necessary to make a road from Morundee to the city of Adelaide (a distance of about sixty miles), which road would pass through some of the richest districts of South Australia.

"With reference to the country of the Lower Murray, the estimate of the traffic is about 2,000 tons annually, made up of ores from the mines, green, dairy, and other produce.

"On either side of the river to the Darling there are extensive cattle-runs, all of which are taken up.

"Proceeding up the river from this point, we enter upon the province of Victoria, and the extensive sheep runs of the Lachlan, the Lower Darling, and the Murrumbidgee, which in June, 1850, according to the New South Wales statistical and other authentic accounts, were stocked by 1,155,774 sheep, 306,861 horned cattle, 10,093 horses, and 1,872 pigs. There is in Australia an annual increase of 40 per cent. on sheep, and 25 per cent. on cattle. According to the commissioners' report, the increase by the close of 1852, allowing for sales, &c., will have amounted to, say, 2,500,000 sheep, 500,000 cattle, the former yielding about 3,384 tons wool, washed and unwashed; and if a quarter of the annual increase were boiled down, say 250,000 sheep, averaging 28 lbs. tallow, 3,125 tons; and 31,000 cattle, averaging 154 lbs. tallow, 2,130 tons. Total annual

freights, 8,608 tons, independent of hides, skins, and other matters, at present thrown aside on account of the great cost of transport.

"For return cargo it is estimated that no less than 5,000 rations would offer, say 1,450 tons, with at least an equal quantity of slops, iron, paling, and other goods, say 2,900 tons. The produce from those remote districts is at present conveyed to Melbourne and Geelong in bullock-drays, traveling about ten miles a day, occupying many weeks in its transit to the port."

To this statement it is right to add, that, in our opinion, speculations involving so trifling an amount of capital as a couple of small iron steam-boats, should be undertaken and managed by colonists or the provincial government, and would be, if worth doing at all.

The navigation of the Murray is an enterprise, if feasible, within the means of a party of colonists, although the clearing of the river is a national and provincial work, to which this country might be called upon to contribute; but the less absentees have to do with small colonial speculations the better for their finances and the credit of the colony.

In the Murray scrub,—a beautiful but barren belt of shrubs and plants from fifteen to twenty miles in breadth, which runs parallel to the river for many miles between Lake Alexandrina and the Great Bend in lat. 34 S.,—a great number of the rare birds and animals of Australia are to be seen; amongst others, the leipoa, or mound-building bird, improperly named by the colonists the wild turkey, is found in great numbers; and the satin, or bower bird, which builds a bower for its mate so curiously arched and adorned with shells and shining stones that when Mr. Gould

first discovered one he took it for the playground of some aboriginal child. The leipoa, which was first brought before the attention of the scientific world by Mr. Gould, realizes the ancient fable of the ostrich, and buries its eggs, to be hatched by the fermentation of a mound of decomposed leaves and earth.

Mr. Gould observes in his great work, from which all our objects of natural history have been, by permission copied :—

“This family of birds (*Tallegalla*, *Leipoa*, and *Megapodius*) form part of a great family of birds inhabiting Australia, New Guinea, the Celebes, and the Philippine Islands, whose habits and economy differ from those of every other group of birds which now exists upon the surface of our globe. In their structure they are most nearly allied to the *Gallinacæ*, while in some of their actions and in their mode of flight they much resemble the *Rallidæ*: the small size of their brain, coupled with the extraordinary means employed for the incubation of their eggs, indicates an extremely low degree of organization. Three species inhabiting Australia, viz., *Leipoa ocellata*, *Tallegalla*, and *Megapodius tumulus*, although referable to distinct genera, have many habits in common, particularly in their mode of incubation, each and all depositing their eggs in mounds of earth and leaves, which, becoming heated either by fermentation of the vegetable matter or by the sun's rays, form a kind of natural hatching apparatus, from which the young at length emerge, fully feathered, capable of sustaining life by their own unaided efforts.”

The male bird of the leipoa (according to a letter to Mr. Gould from Sir George Grey, the present Governor of New Zealand) weighs about four pounds and a half; they never fly if they can help it, and roost on trees at night. The mounds are from twelve to thirteen feet in circumference at the base, and from two to three feet in height. To construct the mound a nearly circular hole of about eighteen inches in diameter is scratched in the ground to the depth of seven or eight inches, and filled with dead leaves, dead grass, and similar materials; over this layer a mound of sand, mixed with dry grass, &c., is thrown; and, finally, the whole assumes the form of a dome. When an egg is to be deposited, the top is laid open, and a hole scraped in the centre to within two or three inches of the bottom layer of dead leaves; the egg is placed in the sand just at the edge of the hole, in a vertical position, with the smaller end downwards; the sand is then thrown in again until the mound assumes its original form. "Egg after egg is thus deposited up to eight, arranged on the same plane in a circle, with a few inches of sand between each. The cock assists the hen in opening and covering the mound. The native name on the Murray River is marrah-ko; in Western Australia the name of the bird is ngow—ngoweer meaning a tuft of feathers."

The megapodius was found by Mr. John M'Gillivray, during a survey of Endeavor Straits, to construct a much larger mound, 24 feet in its utmost height, and 50 feet in circumference at the base.

South Australia has been divided into counties, which are more recognised as distinctive boundaries than in the other colonies, where the first colonization was effected by sheep.

These counties are eleven in number, viz.:—1. Adelaide; 2. Hindmarsh; 3. Gawler; 4. Light; 5. Sturt; 6. Eyre; 7. Stanley; 8. Flinders; 9. Russell; 10. Robe; 11. Grey.

The county of Adelaide is that in which cultivation is most extensively carried on, the other districts being chiefly occupied for grazing, as the difficulty of getting crops to market prevents sellers from raising more than for their own consumption. But in every favorable situation vineyards are making great progress.

Port Adelaide has a population of 2,000, who find occupation in the extensive movements of a large export and import trade. The primitive appearance of the Mangrove Creek through which the disconsolate first colonists waded has disappeared.

A road of seven miles, through sterile sandy ground, leads to the city, which is traversed by conveyances of all kinds, from the heavy dray to the omnibus and smart dog-cart. Crossing the Torrens by a wooden bridge, one of four, which is occasionally swept away by the torrents, after performing a sinecure duty for many months, the city of Adelaide appears in the midst of trees, often full of the most rare and curious birds, which migrate periodically from the colder to the hotter climates, in a warm, pretty, and dusty valley. Adelaide, although very unlike a city accord-



ing to European notions, presents a much more pleasing appearance than Melbourne, which is crowded into a narrow valley, without squares, park, or boulevard. In the park lands surrounding and intersecting the straggling streets of the former, which are as picturesque as Wiesbaden or Cheltenham, although less finished, Colonel Gawler encouraged the blacks to camp by frequent feasts of flour and mutton, and there strangers had an opportunity of seeing, sometimes to their amusement, oftener to their surprise, their peculiar customs, habits, and sports. Many pretty cottages are to be found in the suburbs as neat and highly finished as in England.

South Adelaide is considered the commercial quarter of the town, and contains the principal streets, one of which is 130 feet wide, and Government House, in the centre of a domain of ten acres.

Hindley-street is the Regent-street of Adelaide, and has the distinction of being paved. For want of this luxury of civilization, coupled with the nature of the soil, Adelaide is terribly afflicted with dust, at all times a nuisance, which is indeed common to all Australian towns. Sydney has at certain times of the year its brickfielders. In addition to the park lands, which occupy a breadth of half a mile round the two divisions of the city, a cemetery and a racecourse are among its out-of-door ornaments.

In the surrounding suburbs many pretty villages have been founded, both inland and on the shore. The system of selling land regularly in eighty-acre lots has in some degree neutralized the disadvantage

of the large absentee proprietorships and the special surveys, which have monopolized so much of the limited extent of agricultural land.

There is one point in which the South Australians possess an unquestionable superiority over the other two colonies, and that is their local literature. With the exception of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, which is the *Times* of the southern hemisphere, the newspapers and periodicals are very superior in style of getting up and in matter to those of New South Wales and Port Phillip.

This superiority is especially marked in the South Australian Almanacs, which contain a fund of useful information on the statistics, the agriculture, the horticulture, and the mining progress of the colony.

Before the check occasioned by the gold discoveries, sheep stations had been formed as far north as Mount Brown, toward the Darling, near the eastern boundary. The whole of York peninsula had been occupied, and, in the country westward of Spencer's Gulf, flockmasters had penetrated to Anxious Bay, on the Australian Bight; and townships had been founded at Rivoli Bay, in the county of Grey, and Guichen Bay, in the county of Robe, whence a coasting trade had been opened.

Ever since 1843 South Australia has been a corn-exporting country, although with great fluctuations: in that year 38,480 bushels were exported; in the following year the quantity increased to 132,000 bushels; but the low price, 2s. 9d. a bushel, reduced the cultivation by ten thousand acres. In 1845 the

price continued low, and cultivation was further reduced; but high prices at the end of the year increased cultivation to 36,000 acres in 1847. And thus, according to price, cultivation ebbed and flowed, constantly making more progress as small settlers became landholders, and became more steady. As a general rule it may be asserted that miners are situated in barren districts, and obliged to draw their grain and vegetables from considerable distance. The system of eighty-acre lots enabled colonists of the cultivating class to plant themselves upon land in the most convenient distance for supplying the mines. These same cottage farms also derived great advantage from contracts for conveying ore from the mine to the port, and coals and wood to the smelting establishments, in their bullock-drays.

In 1850 the whole original scheme of the colony had disappeared: cultivation was entirely in the hands of the working classes; the capitalists and educated were engaged either as squatters, in commerce, or in mining speculations. The remains of the old ideas were only to be found in a little grandiloquent speech-making, and, better still, in some very beautiful gardens. There were a few fortunate purchasers of town lots in the main streets who made and retained very handsome fortunes.

Mining speculations were carried to a length as extreme as in Cornwall itself. Yet in all the numerous works in South Australia it is difficult to discover, for it is never plainly stated, that only one public mine, the Burra Barra, ever paid a dividend. The

Kapunda has never been in the market, having been retained by Captain Bagot, Mr. Dutton, and a few friends. It is extremely rich in yield, but, the ground being tender, the expenses in propping it up are great, as timber is scarce and labor dear.

In Cornwall there are always a certain number of mines for sale to strangers. It was the same in South Australia. Mines were manufactured for the benefit of green emigrants. For this reason the recent crisis, in which the emigration of many thousands destroyed all fictitious credit, will do good, by directing the attention of South Australians to the true resources of their noble province.

In 1850 not less than thirty-nine mining schemes, in various stages of progress, were before the British and South Australian public, none of which paid a dividend. Most of them depended on English capital for their working, and nearly all, according to colonial accounts, only required a little more money to become most flourishing. The following mines were all at discount before the gold discoveries stopped the working of all but those which were really solid undertakings:

The Wheal Gawler silver-lead mine was opened in 1841, being the first mine worked in the province. After being abandoned it was reopened by a company without success, although with "good prospects," in 1850. Then, among other non-paying mines, there are the Adelaide Mining Company, near Montacute, with a capital of £1,000; the Australian Mining Company, with an English capital of £400,000, and a

special survey of Reedy Creek, forty-six miles from Adelaide, other lots at Tunghillo and at Kapunda, founded in 1845—the outlay has been enormous—no dividends; the Borossa Mining Company, with a capital of £30,000, formed in England, with a view of prosecuting mineral explorations on the property of T. G. Angas, Esq.; the Glen Ormond, another English company, with a capital of £30,000, founded in 1845; the Port Lincoln, with a capital of £10,000; the Mount Remarkable, with a capital of £25,000, in 1846; the North Kapunda, a capital of £22,200, in 1846; the Paringa, capital £20,000, in 1845; the Port Lincoln, capital £4,000, in 1848; the Princess Royal, capital £20,000, in 1845: this was the unlucky half of the Burra.

There were two gold companies established in 1846, the workings of one of which were suspended in 1850, “pending an anticipated sale of the sett in England.”

Two conclusions may be drawn from an examination of the reports of these mines—first, that South Australia is extremely rich in minerals; and secondly, that parties who do not understand mining should be cautious in taking the advice of South Australian friends as to mining investments.

The following statement of the results of the Burra Burra mine will show that the South Australians have some reasonable excuse for the gambling mining spirit with which they are afflicted, and which succeeded to the town-lot roulette of 1839–40:

The Burra proprietary divided their purchase into

2,464 shares of £5 each, with liberty to increase their capital to £20,000, which they have since done.

In the first year, from 29th September, 1845, to 29th September, 1846, at a cost of £16,624, they raised 7,200 tons of ore. As the depth of the workings increased a great improvement in the quality of the ore took place; instead of the blue carbonate, the red oxide, malachite, and the richest description of ore became predominant. The highest price realized for the first 800 tons was £31 9s., and the lowest £10 16s. per ton. At a considerable distance from the principal workings eighty tons of blue and green carbonate of copper were raised in the month of March, 1847.

In the months of June and July, 1847, the first and second dividends of fifty shillings each per share were paid to the shareholders. These dividends were paid out of the net proceeds of 2,959 tons of ore, amounting to £35,678, out of which also were paid the expenses of the association, including the cost of producing the 2,959 tons of ore, amounting to £15,926, leaving an undivided balance of £7,584. During the six months ending 30th September, 1847, 7,264 tons were raised within that period of a superior quality. During the six months ending the 31st March, 1848, 6,068 tons were raised. The large raising of the whole year, amounting to 13,533 tons, was produced from within the limits of the twenty-fathom level. All the ore discovered below that to the thirty fathoms was left for future raising, there being plenty of good ore-ground above the twenty-fathom level to employ the miners for some time to come.

The wages and cost of working the mine, including timber, fixed machinery, tools, &c., amounted to £74,030, and the cartage of the ore to £44,803.

In this year £88,106 was realized, out of which the expenses of working the mine and carting the ore were paid, but three further dividends were declared. By March, 1848, the original £5 shares had advanced up to £150; a sixth and seventh dividend of £10 each, in June and September, raised the prices to £200 and £210 for cash. A fall afterwards took place in consequence of the depreciation of the value of copper in Europe. But an important discovery was made of a valuable lode in the thirty-fathom level leading from Kingston to Graham's shaft. The lode was cut four fathoms below the water level, was solid, and from ten to eleven feet wide, composed of a compact green carbonate or malachite, producing upwards of 40 per cent. of copper. The lode was described as clearly defined, in easy working order, and dipping well into the mine.

In the half year ending 30th September, 1848, 10,163 tons were raised, making a sum total for the ore raised during the first three years' working of the mine of 33,386 tons, equal to upwards of 10,000 tons of fine copper ore (at £70 per ton), £77,000. The cost of the mine for the year ending the 30th of September, 1848, was £81,401; of the cartage of ore, £31,445.

In the latter part of 1848 the miners struck for higher wages. The workings of the mine were sus-

pended from November until February, 1849. In March the miners resumed work.

Further important discoveries were made — one of a lode in the thirty-fathom level, south-west from Graham's shaft, consisting of red oxide and malachite in great abundance; and the other of a lode two fathoms wide, yielding malachite of high produce. Only two pitches were set on these lodes, and twelve men at work at them in the first week produced eighty tons of the richest ores.

On the 5th of September, 1840, an eighth dividend of £5 per share was declared. In the year 1850 the £10 quarterly dividends were regularly paid. Two steam engines of 35-horse power each, one for crushing the ore and the other for drawing from the shafts, arrived; and the directors ordered seventy fathom of fifteen-inch pumps to replace the eleven-inch lifts then in work, and a pumping-engine of 300-horse power.

The quantity of ore raised in the year ending September, 1850, was 18,692 tons. Since that period the returns have experienced a temporary check, from the emigration to the gold diggings, and shares have fallen to £50.

### *Smelting Works.*

The copper ore raised in the South Australian mines has been principally sent to Swansea. As there is a considerable demand for copper in India and China, it became an object to refine the ore in South Australia. With this view several copper-smelting companies were established, but hitherto



with moderate success, in consequence of the scarcity of fuel, although an immense capital has been sunk. Coal has not yet been discovered; therefore the smelters were dependent on wood or imported coal. A large forest is soon consumed, according to experience in Norway, by the demands of a smelting establishment. The most extensive smelting works, late the property of Messrs. Schneider, have unfortunately been planted close to the Burra mine, where wood is scarce, and where four tons of coal must be carted up for every ton of ore. The proper site would have been at or near a port.

These, then, have been the especial occupations and investments of South Australian colonists. Pastoral pursuits are followed as in the other two colonies. The number of sheep grazing is about one-sixth that of Port Phillip district. Fat cattle are driven over from Portland Bay to Rivoli Bay for South Australian consumption.

The remarks on pastoral pursuits apply to all the three colonies.

South Australia is at present under a cloud, but the depression can be but temporary. Such a mine as the Burra must be worked, and the colony will profit, even although the dividends of the original shareholders be reduced to one-half, and wages of miners doubled. A genial sun, a fertile soil, a healthy climate, with English colonists, sheep, cattle, and pastures cannot but produce good fruits, although the grand dreams of "empire" of newly-fledged legislators may scarcely be realized.

*Statistics of South Australia in 1850, the Fifteenth Year of its Settlement.*

The following abstract of elaborate official statistical tables will show the condition of South Australia previous to the gold crisis :

The exports of the year ending April, 1850, amounted to £453,668 12s. Of this sum £11,212 was in wheat, £20,279 in flour, £63,729 in copper in ingots, £211,361 in copper ore, £8,188 in tallow, and £113,259 in wool.

These are the staple exports of South Australia.

The imports for the present period were £887,423, part of the excess arising from imports of railway, mining, and other productive investments. In the same year 64,728 1-2 acres were in cultivation—wheat, 41,807 acres ; potatoes, 1,780 ; gardens, 1,370 ; vineyards, 280 ; hay, 13,000.

The population was 63,900, of which 7,000 were Germans.

Live stock :—Cattle, 100,000 ; sheep, 1,200,000 ; horses, 6,000. It may be convenient here to state, by way of comparison, the statistics of the sister colonies :

New South Wales.	Victoria, late Port Phillip.
Population, 200,000.....	78,000
Imports, £1,670,300.....	£744,225
Exports, £1,990,900.....	£1,041,796
Sheep, 7,026,000.....	6,033,000
Cattle, 1,300,100.....	346,562
Horses, 111,200.....	16,743

The effect of the gold discoveries was to drain off fifteen thousand of the South Australian population

to the gold fields, and to bring all except the paying mining speculations to a stand-still. But the legislature having rapidly passed an act by which gold, duly stamped, became a legal tender at the government land sales, and the governor having at the same time made, by a few bridges and wells sunk, a practicable road to Mount Alexander diggings, and established an escort, by the last advices a new profitable commerce was springing up. Successful South Australian diggers have thus had inducements held out to them to invest the produce of their labor in farms in their own province. The time has come when the £1 an acre tells against South Australia seriously in competition with the other provinces. Where a man can earn £1 a day the price of land does not affect him. But there are hundreds of respectable families who do not take their children to dig gold, and will not and cannot go to service, who would be glad to purchase land to till with their own hands, if they had the means. The £1 an acre set against the cost of the voyage renders an investment in South Australian land impossible. There are capital colonists who have large families, small means, and yet are not prepared to become "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### RELIGION—EDUCATION—LAW.

FOUNDATION OF BISHOPRICS—THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM INSUFFICIENT—  
CHURCH SCHOOLS—NATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM—COLONIAL EDUCATION—  
NORMAL SCHOOL OF SYDNEY—"ORDER FOR A SCHOOLMASTER"—HOW  
EXECUTED—COURTS OF LAW.

IN South Australia a bishopric was founded by the munificence of Miss Burdett Coutts, and this led to the appointment of a bishop of Melbourne, and perhaps to the creation of the second bishopric in New South Wales, the diocese of Newcastle, which extends to the northward, the residence being at Morpeth.

By an act of the Legislative Council of South Australia, passed 3rd of August, 1847, for promoting the building of Christian churches and chapels, public money was issued, under the sanction of the governor and Executive Council, in proportion to the amount of private contributions—the grants in aid of building to range from £50 to £150, and toward the stipend of clergy and ministers from £50 to £200 a year. One fourth of the sittings in places of worship so assisted to be free.


The assistance in New South Wales and Port Phillip is, at present, regulated by the act passed by Sir Richard Bourke.

The Congregationalists and Baptists have always refused to receive aid from the state; and there exists in the three colonies, especially in South Australia, a

party opposed to all state assistance to religion. We will add that in our opinion, although religion and education may be sustained in towns with a large floating population by the voluntary system, the inhabitants of the interior, without government assistance, will remain to a great extent in a state of practical heathendom altogether, without the advantage of religious rites and ordinances. The state of life in the bush is, or ought to be, patriarchal: churches are an impossibility. Every father must be the pastor of his family. To establish the voluntary system is to decree that the long lines of rivers shall never be visited and comforted by the presence of a minister of religion.

It is a pity that a few thousands cannot be tithed from the vast sums spent on hopeless missions to the heathen for the support of itinerant missionaries to our emigrant countrymen — missionaries not disdaining to be also schoolmasters. The collection of bibles in many languages in the Great Exhibition was a fine and impressive sight; but still it is a pity that men of piety, rank, wealth, and influence, do not pursue rather the positive and possible than the impossible, and begin by taking care that every child in the bush of Australia shall have and know how to read a bible before sending missionaries to perish in Patagonia, or attempting an impossible Church of England Utopia in Canterbury, New Zealand.

Up to 1836 education was as much neglected in Australia as in England, until the period that Lord Brougham commenced the agitation compromised by



the establishment of the mis-called *national* schools. A large proportion of the population consisted of adult convicts, who arrived as ignorant as vicious.

In 1836 Sir Richard Bourke carried through the Legislative Council, at the same time that the church and school lands were surrendered, a measure for founding schools throughout the colony, on the plan of Lord Stanley's (now Earl of Derby's) Irish National school system. But the opposition on the part of the Bishop of Australia, who had just then arrived from England with his new dignity, was so hot and effective that the local act remained a dead letter, and the moderate percentage of education afforded to the working classes was distributed through denominational or sectarian schools, aided by colonial funds, one half of the colony being of the Church of England, one fourth Roman Catholics, and the rest dissenters of various denominations. The result was to leave many country districts without schools, and to establish two or three to educate forty or fifty scholars. At Camden there were three schools, none of which had more than twenty scholars.

In 1844 a committee of the Legislative Council was appointed to investigate the subject of colonial education on the motion of Robert Lowe, Esq., of which he became chairman. This committee reported strongly in favor of the Irish national system, observing, "There are about 25,676 children between the ages of four and fourteen years: of these only 7,642 receive instruction in public schools, and 4,865 in private ones, leaving about 13,000 who, as far as the commit-

tee can learn, receive no education at all. The expense of education is about £1 a head. This deficient education is partly attributable to the ignorance, dissolute habits, and avarice of too many parents, and partly to the want of good schoolmasters and school-books, but a far greater proportion of the evil has arisen from the strictly denominational character of the public schools.

“The very essence of a denominational system is to leave the majority uneducated, in order thoroughly to imbue the majority with peculiar tenets. The natural result is that where one school is founded two will arise, not because they are wanted, but because it is feared that proselytes will be made. It is a system impossible to be carried out in a thinly-inhabited country, and, being exclusively in the hands of the clergy, it places the state in the awkward dilemma of either supplying money, whose expenditure it is not permitted to regulate, or of interfering between the clergy and their superiors.”

The committee further recommend the formation of a board, to be appointed by the governor, consisting of persons favorable to the plan, and possessing the confidence of the different denominations, “with a salaried secretary.”

The Lord Bishop of Australia and the Roman Catholic Archbishop were both examined before this committee; both were strongly opposed to the Irish system of educating different denominations in one school, and expressed their adherence to the denominational system. The Bishop of Australia would

countenance no schools in which the dogmas of the Church of England were not taught; the Roman Catholic Archbishop, in like manner, insisted on having Roman Catholic schools for the members of his church.

They are both excellent, charitable, and pious men; but either was evidently prepared, if he had the power, to enforce the dogmatic teaching of his own church in all the schools, and to leave those who did not agree with them without any teaching, moral or educational.

They were not satisfied with a compromise system, by which the duties of truth, chastity, honesty, charity, forgiveness of enemies, and thankfulness to God, should be inculcated, with reading, writing, and arithmetic, unless the questions of the number of sacraments and the right line of apostolic succession were also expounded according to the views of each; and, sooner than either would give way, they were content to leave infant minds to gather all their learning from the blasphemy of the streets.

The vigorous opposition of these two prelates, and others of their mind, aided by many who, really worshipping nothing, except what the Americans rather profanely call the "Almighty Dollar," yet loved a party cry, temporarily suspended the carrying out of the recommendations of this report.

But the Stanley National system of instruction is the only system possible in a colony where the divers religions were so evenly balanced, and made and is making progress. In the districts where denomina-



tional schools were in existence in 1844 they are still maintained, but in new districts Lord Stanley's system is introduced. Port Phillip, as regards schools, has until recently been under the control of the Sydney Legislative Council. In South Australia the voluntary system, aided by grants from the colonial treasury, prevails.

In pursuance of the recommendation of Mr. Lowe's committee, a board has been formed on the principle of the Irish Board of Education ; and a normal school for training teachers on the Irish system has been established.

Throughout the "three colonies" great anxiety prevails among all classes for the extension of education, and a willingness to bear taxation for that purpose.

The normal school of Sydney affords one of the many comical anecdotes afloat illustrating the mode in which officials in England attend to colonial affairs.

In consequence of the suggestion of Mr. Lowe's committee, after the heat of the educational question had toned down, application was made to the Colonial Office for a master acquainted with the Irish school system, and capable of taking charge of a normal school for the instruction of masters in that system. For nearly four years the Colonial Office slept on the application : at the end of that time, by some chance, the "order for a schoolmaster" turned up. Earl Grey, it is presumed after some inquiries, selected a Mr. Wilson. Mr. Wilson received a letter desiring him to call on Earl Grey, in Downing-street. He went, was congratulated, favored with a little of the

good advice of which great men keep a stock for the benefit of the small, and then handed over to Mr. Benjamin Hawes, the late Under-Secretary for the Colonies, who in due course handed him over to Mr. Gairdner, the chief clerk, who transferred him to a stylish young gentleman, name unknown, who stood with his back to the fire, and a pot of stout in his right hand, and delivered himself something in the following strain:—"Well, you're appointed to this berth in Australia? Consider yourself lucky; you'll make your fortune. Now, these colonial fellows are in a deuce of a hurry, so you must lose no time. Let me see the shipping list. Ah! here's a ship sails on Friday for Adelaide. This is Monday—you must go on Friday—your passage will be paid, and all right."

Mr. Wilson remonstrated on the shortness of the time, but it was of no use: the colonists were in a "deuce of a hurry." He suggested that Adelaide was a considerable distance from Sydney. The objection was pooh-poohed—knowledge of colonial geography is not an indispensable qualification for colonial office. Poor Mr. Wilson was hurried off by the ship to Adelaide with such speed that his wife is said to have died on the voyage, from the excitement and fatigue of packing. Arrived at Adelaide, he had to wait nearly a month for a conveyance to Sydney. Arrived in Sydney, and installed in his office, he was questioned as to the latest improvements in the Irish national system. He knew nothing about it, had never seen any of the books, he had been master of an excellent Church of England school. So, after

four years delay, in desperate haste, the Colonial Office had sent off the wrong man, to the wrong place!

In justice to Mr. Wilson it is right to add, that, being a clever and conscientious man, he applied himself to the study of the Irish school-books, and has performed the duties of his office with credit to himself and advantage to the colony.

In South Australia, by an act of the Legislative Council, passed in August, 1847, the governor is authorized to appoint a board of education, who shall have power, under his sanction, to make regulations for giving effect to the ordinance. No aid to be given to schoolhouses. The salaries issued to teachers will be in proportion to the children taught, not less than twenty, between six and sixteen years of age, £20 being the lowest and £40 the highest sum. The governor to appoint visitors and inspectors. The reports to be laid before the Legislative Council, and one public examination to take place yearly. The boards, previous to the introduction of an elective Legislative Council, consisted of the judge of the Supreme Court, the advocate general, the colonial chaplain, a dissenting minister, and a layman.

The Legal system of the Three Colonies is essentially the same; and an account of that in force in New South Wales will be sufficient to convey an idea of the manner and nature of law proceedings in all the Australian courts.

The *Supreme Court* of New South Wales consists

of a chief and two puisne judges, who exercise the powers of the three courts of Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer at Westminster, and have criminal jurisdiction. They go on circuit twice a year to Bathurst, Goulburn, Maitland, and Brisbane.

In common law the "new rules" of pleading are in force.

One judge sits in equity (by delegation) with the powers of a vice-chancellor, and there is an appeal from his decision to the Supreme Court.

The proceedings are by bill and answer. The equity rules of 1841 are in force; but in 1849 a reform was introduced, by which the proceedings for obtaining a rule nisi in a common law court, by affidavit, and a defence by affidavit were, in a variety of instances, substituted for the tedious complication of the old chancery system.

The Supreme Court also exercises, in the person of one of the judges appointed for the purpose, those functions as regards the validity of testamentary dispositions, letters of administration, &c., which in England are performed by the Ecclesiastical Courts; but no courts exist for deciding on questions of divorce, alimony, &c.

The Master in Equity presides over an Admiralty Court.

The Supreme Court exercises jurisdiction in bankruptcy and insolvency. One of the judges presides, exercising powers similar to the commissioners in England, with an appeal to the Supreme Court.

Estates of insolvents are vested in official assignees.

A person can be made a bankrupt or insolvent either by petition of creditors or by his own petition.

A *Court of Conscience*, presided over by a single commissioner, who decides, not according to law or evidence, but according "to equity and good conscience," like the courts which have been superseded in England by our County Courts, is held for the metropolitan county of Cumberland in Sidney, and one for the metropolitan county of Bourke in Melbourne, which has jurisdiction up to £30.

The magistrates, paid and unpaid, in the other districts have jurisdiction up to £10 absolutely, and up to £30 by mutual consent in cases of simple debt, but not in actions for damages or disputed rights to land, &c.

Under the enactments of the "Masters and Servants" Act, two magistrates can decide on disputes as to wages and service: they can commit a servant refusing to perform his written agreement, and levy a distress on the property of his master or his agent if wages are unpaid.

The division of barrister and attorney is maintained in the colonies.

English barristers and Scotch advocates are admitted at once to practice.

The judges appoint a board of examiners, and admit any man of good character to practice as a barrister, after passing an examination in classics, mathematics and law.

Attorneys and writers to the signet are admitted to practice, of course.

Persons who have served their articles and not passed in England, may be admitted in the colony. The result is, that parties who have been or would have been rejected in England in consequence of tainted character, are able to practice in the colony of New South Wales.

Three important law reforms are due to the exertions of Robert Low, Esq., now member for Kidderminster, during the time he was a member of the Legislative Council, and practiced at the bar in Sydney.

The substitution in 1849 in the Colonial Equity Court of the common law proceedings on application for a rule nisi instead of the tedious delays of bill and answer, which is of great value in such cases as where executors, trustees or partners, hold money in their hands claimed by plaintiffs.

The abolition of imprisonment for debt on final process.

In a country like Australia, where property is chiefly in live stock, and servants are not to be depended on, to commit a man to prison virtually amounted to destroying all his property.

And arrangements for admitting to the bar without proceeding to England, gentlemen able to pass an examination in classics, mathematics and law, before examiners appointed by the judges. The sons of Australian gentlemen, for want of friends accustomed to the state of society in the universities, are usually ruined.

In South Australia, there is a Supreme Court, com-

posed of one judge, who also presides in the Vice-Admiralty Court, a commissioner in the Insolvent Court, and three police magistrates

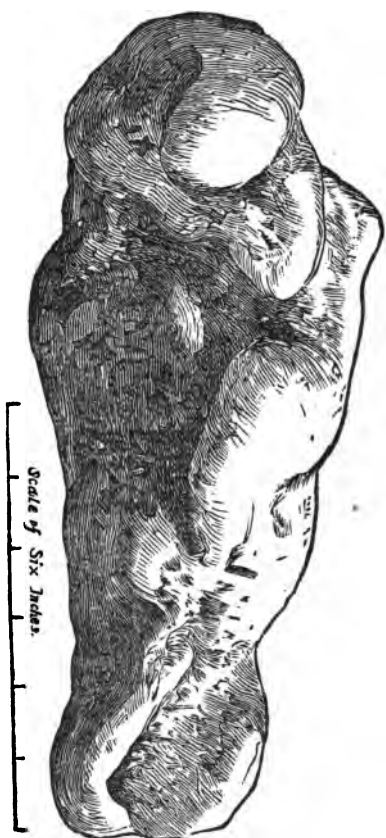
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## CHAPTER XIX.

RUMORS OF GOLD DISCOVERY—CERTAINTY—SKETCH OF HISTORY—OLD SHEPHERD—EDWARD HARGREAVES POINTS OUT GOLD FIELDS—CORRESPONDENCE WITH GOVERNOR—STUTCHBURY—PROCLAMATION ISSUED—FIRST GOLD COMMISSIONER APPOINTED—JOHN HARDY'S DESCRIPTION OF SUMMERHILL CREEK—PREACHING AT THE DIGGINGS.

IN the month of April, 1851, New South Wales and Port Phillip were enjoying an unexampled condition of financial and commercial prosperity, the demand for labor was steadily increasing, and in the elder colony several manufactures and copper-mines were affording new investments for colonial capital. The leading colonial journal was amusing its readers with calculations of the period when all the pastoral land of the colony would be overstocked with sheep and cattle. The politicians had three grievances—the continuance of transportation, the delay in establishing a steam-post, and the shortcomings of the new constitution, which had increased the fixed taxes without giving any real additional legislative power to the colonists.

In the midst of this satisfactory state of affairs, “through the Exchange of Sydney a horrid rumor



**A NUGGET OF GOLD.**





ran" that a great gold-field had been found near Bathurst.

Very soon small "nuggets" (the word is Californian) arrived in the city, and were handed about as curiosities. Thereupon a few score pedestrians, chiefly of the humblest class, set out to walk to Bathurst, 140 miles.

By the 2nd of May there was no longer any doubt about the diggings; crowds of all ranks streamed across the Blue Mountains; the governor's proclamation gave official currency to the dazzling fact; the gold fever commenced.

When whispers and rumors had grown into a great fact, every body wondered that the discovery had not been made before, as it had been so often prophesied by various individuals, none of whom seem to have had, like Mr. Hargreaves, sufficient confidence in their own judgment to travel to the district, and put a spade into the ground.

The history of the gold discoveries in Australia lies in a very short compass, but is worth telling. It illustrates many curious things:

The first written reference to the existence of gold in Australia is to be found in a dispatch, not published at the time, addressed by Sir George Gipps, 2nd of September, 1840, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which he encloses a report from Count Strzelecki, mentioning under gold "an auriferous sulphuret of iron, partly decomposed, yielding a very small quantity of gold, although not enough to repay extraction," which he found in the Vale of Clwdd.

It was known to a few that an old shepherd of the name of Macgregor was in the habit of annually selling small parcels of gold to jewelers; but those who watched him could discover nothing, and the common belief was that he sold the produce of robberies, which had been melted up to destroy suspicion. The Rev. D. Mackenzie, in his "Gold-digger," states that this old man has recently acknowledged that he obtained his gold from a place called Mitchell's Creek, beyond Wellington Valley, about 200 miles west of Sydney.

The Rev. W. B. Clarke, one of the colonial chaplains, and a geologist of considerable acquirements, has claimed in the colonial press the honor of having unsuccessfully directed attention to the gold-bearing regions of Bathurst. In consequence of this claim, Sir Roderic Murchison, one of the most distinguished members of the geological and other scientific societies, read a paper before the Geological Society, in which he states that having, between 1841 and 1843, published descriptions of the auriferous phenomena of the Ural Mountains, in 1844, before the Royal Geographical Society, he compared the eastern chain of Australia with the Ural Mountains. In 1846, a year before the Californian discovery, he addressed the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall, recommending unemployed Cornish tin-miners to emigrate to New South Wales, and dig for gold in the débris and drift of what he termed the "Australian Cordillera," in which he had recently heard that gold had been discovered in small quantities, and in which he antici-

pated, from the similarity with the Ural Mountains, that it would certainly be found in abundance.

After these opinions had been made public, persons resident in Sydney and Adelaide sought for and found specimens of gold, which they transmitted to Sir Roderick, who thereupon wrote to Earl Grey, the minister of the colonies, in November, 1848, stating the grounds for his confident expectation that gold would be found in large quantities, and suggested precautionary measures. Earl Grey never answered this letter, and neither took measures nor sent out private instructions to prepare the governor for the realization of the predictions of the man of science. As he afterwards explained, he thought it better that the people should stick to wool-growing. This seems no reason for keeping his own governor in the dark.

The first printed notice by Mr. Clarke appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, in 1847, in which, following Sir Roderick Murchison's footsteps, he compares Australia with the Ural.

In 1848 a Mr. Smith, engaged in iron-works near Berrima,\* waited upon Mr. Deas Thomson, the colonial Secretary, produced a lump of gold imbedded in quartz, which he said he had found, and offered, on receipt of £800, to discover the locality. On reference to the governor, a verbal answer was returned that, if Mr. Smith chose to trust to the liberality of the government, he might rely on being rewarded in proportion to the value of the alleged discovery. The

\* Berrima, in the county of Camden, eighty-one miles from Sydney.

government suspected that the lump of gold came from California, "and were afraid of agitating the public mind by ordering geological investigations." Nothing more has been heard of Mr. Smith.

On the 3d April, 1851, Mr. Edward Hargreaves addressed a letter to the colonial secretary, after several interviews, in which he said that if the government would award him £500 as a compensation, he would point out the localities where gold was to be found, and leave it to the generosity of the government to make him an additional reward commensurate with the benefit likely to accrue to the government.

It seems that Mr. Hargreaves, while in California, was struck with the similarity between the richest diggings of that country and a district in the Bathurst country which he had traveled over fifteen years previously ; and on his return to Sydney made an exploring expedition of two months, which realized his expectations.

The same answer was returned to Mr. Hargreaves as to Mr. Smith. He was satisfied, and on the 30th April wrote, naming Lewes Ponds and Summerhill Creeks, and Macquarie River, in the district of Bathurst and Wellington, as the districts where gold would be found.

A copy of this letter was, by the governor's directions, forwarded to the colonial geologist, Mr. Stutchbury, with whom Mr. Hargreaves was put in communication. Mr. Stutchbury was appointed by Earl Grey to this position in the colony, through a recom-

medation of Sir Henry de la Beche, and of his geological attainments there can be no question ; but almost all these home appointments are unlucky. There was a story floating in Bathurst that the government geologist was dissatisfied with his "*prospecting*" duties ; "for it tired him to walk, and pained him to ride." No doubt by this time he is a practiced bushman.

Messrs. Hargreaves and Stutchbury set out on their journey. On the 8th of May a Mr. Green, a crown commissioner, writes in great alarm from Bathurst that "a Mr. Hargreaves has been employing people to dig for gold on the Summerhill Creek, who have found several ounces ;" and suggests "that some stringent measure be adopted to prevent the laboring classes from leaving their employments to search on the crown lands."

On the 13th of May Mr. Green writes again, in still more alarm : "A piece of gold valued at £30 had been brought in, and he feared that any future regulations would be set at defiance."

Having frequently in the course of this work had occasion to point out the mistakes and misdeeds of the local colonial government, it is only common justice to say that the line of conduct adopted by Sir Charles Fitzroy and his council on the occurrence of the gold crisis reflects upon them the highest credit.

A few dates will show how rapidly gold-gathering grew into an important pursuit, stimulating agriculture, and overshadowing the pastoral interest.

May 14th. Mr. Stutchbury reports that he "had

seen sufficient to prove the existence of grain gold."

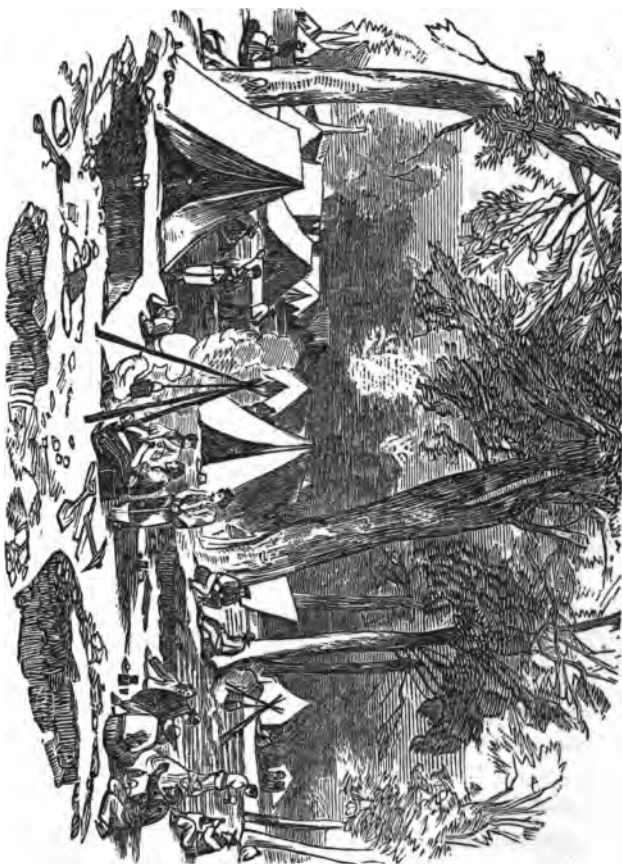
19th. Mr. Stutchbury reports "that many persons with merely a tin dish have obtained one or two ounces a day. Four hundred persons at work, occupying about a mile of the Summerhill Creek, fear that great confusion will arise in consequence of people setting up claims."

22nd. A proclamation was issued declaring the rights of the crown to gold found in its natural place of deposit within the territory of New South Wales.

23rd. John Richard Hardy, Esq., chief magistrate of Paramatta, was appointed the first gold commissioner, with instructions to organize a mounted police of ten men; to issue licenses to gold-diggers, at the rate of 30s. a month; to receive in payment gold obtained by amalgamation at £2 8s. per ounce, and at £3 4s. per ounce for gold obtained by washing. And to preserve the peace and put down outrage and violence, with this view he was further instructed to co-operate with the local police, and to swear in special constables from the licensed diggers.

*Same date.* Thomas Icely, Esq., M. C., of Coombing, near Bathurst, where gold was discovered in 1849, appeared before the Executive Council, and gave an account of his visit to the gold-field on the 16th May. He saw one hundred and eleven persons actually at work—double that number going and coming—all successful who worked steadily—the country poor and unfit for agricultural or pastoral purposes, though the license fee of thirty shillings would be collected without difficulty, apprehended great danger to residents

**GOLD DIGGERS AT DINNER.**







on their own property, from the number of persons who might be expected to pass the district from the neighboring colonies, feared that his own and all other stores would be pillaged.

25th. Mr. Stutchbury reported that gold-diggers had increased to one thousand, that lumps had been found varying in weight from one ounce to four pounds, that the larger pieces were generally got out of fissures in the rock, "clay slate," which forms the bed of the river, dipped to the north-east at various angles, the fissile edges presenting jagged edges, which had opened under the influence of the atmosphere, "the smaller grain gold being procured by washing the alluvial soil resting upon and filling in the cleavage joints of the slate;" that "gold was also found in the planks of the ranges, proving that it had originated in the mountains."

He observes: — "The workings at present are conducted in the most wasteful manner, from the cupidity and ignorance of the people, which cannot be remedied until some officer is appointed acquainted with the proper mode of working, with power to enforce it. The best thing that could happen would be a severe flood, which would fill the diggings, and oblige them to begin, *de novo*, under proper restrictions."

Such is the constant hankering of government officials to teach and regulate commercial enterprise.

Mr. Stutchbury further reported that gold had been found in Argyle, on the Abercrombie River, in the creeks running north and south of the Connobola

Mountains, such as Oakey Creek, the whole length of the Macquarie from Bathurst to Wellington.

Creek is a colonial term applied to a minor branch or tributary of a river. These creeks seldom run more than three months in the year.

About this time a considerable number of respectable persons were seized with terror, lest the whole framework of society should become disorganized, and anarchy and violence become chronic.

When the existence of gold was first ascertained there were flockowners who disapproved of the course pursued by the governor in raising gold-digging to the condition of a regular industrial pursuit, and recommended "that martial law should be proclaimed, and all gold-digging peremptorily prohibited, *in order that the ordinary industrial pursuits of the country should not be interfered with*;" that is to say, some of the same order who have always patronized vagabond bachelor shepherds, and opposed the establishment of wives, families, and small farms in the interior, were ready to risk a civil war rather than endanger their wool crops.

But, fortunately, the governor, being a soldier, had no taste for spilling the blood of his countrymen in a "futile attempt to stop the influx of the tide."

Provincial Inspector Scott, of the police, reports from Bathurst that the distance thence to Bathurst is forty miles, over a clear and defined but mountainous road, fit for the passage of drays.

"The diggings are in a creek situated within steep hills, varying in height, with flats from ten to twenty

yards in width. Large pieces of rock have to be removed, the slate formation shattered with a pick, and the earth to be washed. The solid pieces of gold are found underneath and between the rocks and slate, and the small portions are produced from the washing of the earth in cradles. Thought that the deposits of the creek would be exhausted soon — that any mechanics in full work would commit an act of insanity to resign their situations in search of gold; that on Sabbath all parties left off work, and the Rev. Mr. Chapman, a Wesleyan minister, preached to a large congregation. Further, Mr. Scott anticipated difficulty in preserving the peace, unless prompt and energetic measures were adopted, viz: To swear in all respectable persons as special constables, and permit them to be armed. To grant licenses to other classes (not respectable), and take their arms away from them to be locked up in the Bathurst Court House."

From the letters of the provincial inspector of the same date, reporting the preparations that he had made to assist the gold commissioner, in case of the anticipated resistance, it is evident that no ordinary degree of alarm was generally experienced.

But, fortunately, the colonists of Australia proved themselves more orderly and sensible than the police and other timid individuals had imagined; and in Mr. Hardy, the first gold commissioner, the governor had selected a man of excellent judgment, temper and cool courage, who was determined to let the industrious miners have fair play, and equally determined to

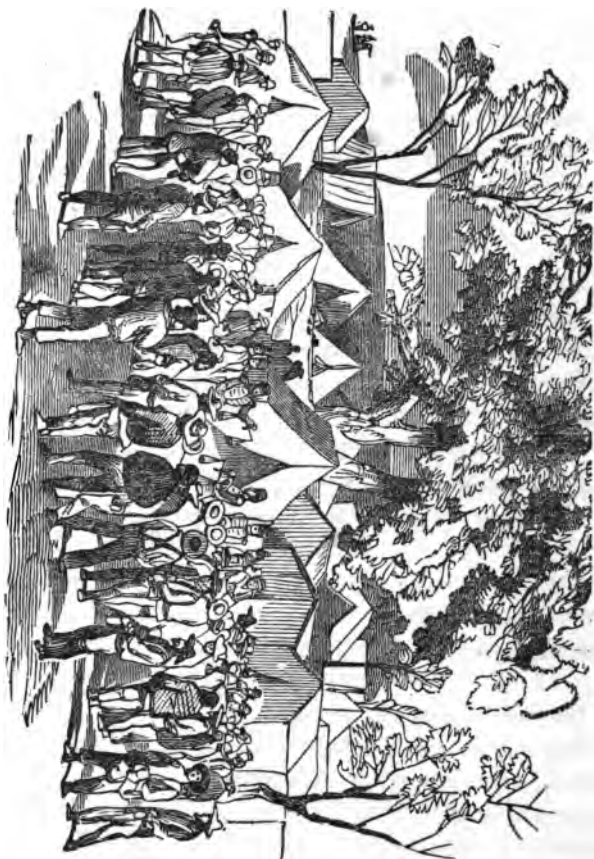
enforce his lawful authority. His papers are all models of strong common sense.

For instance, when called before the Executive Council to be informed of his appointment, he states, "that he did not consider that he should have any difficulty in enforcing an observance of any reasonable regulations, if twelve mounted men on whom he could depend were attached to him, all being soldiers who have but a short time longer to serve to entitle them to claim their discharge with pensions." He does not desire to associate civilians with soldiers. His confidence was not misplaced.

June 2nd. Mr. Hardy arrived on Summerhill with eight extra police, lent by Major Wentworth, found not the least desire to resist the government regulations, and did not keep the extra force on the ground half an hour. An arrangement to intercept all new arrivals, by sending them to unoccupied ground, prevented confusion.

On June 8th, four hundred and forty-six licenses had been issued; to two or three hundred new arrivals he had given a few days to pay; quiet and good order prevailed; "in one instance alone was there an inclination to disregard my decision. A tall, strong man, a butcher at Bathurst, who had been in the habit of beginning to work wherever he saw promises of lumps of gold, trusting to his strength to keep down opposition, began to work on another man's opening. I told him to desist; but, as soon as I turned my back, he began again, saying he would work where he liked in spite of any one. I turned

GIVING OUT LICENSES





back immediately, and as I went up to him he dropped his pick and snatched up a spade as if to strike me. I instantly collared him, put him in handcuffs, and marched him off the ground, declaring my intention of sending him to Bathurst gaol. I sent up to my camp, with orders for a policeman to get ready to take him in, and continued my walk.\* On my return, in about an hour, the man was very penitent, begged to be let off, which I did : he has been working quietly ever since, and the neighborhood has been relieved of a very unpleasant man. I have mentioned this to show how easily such a population may be managed. There is no occasion for any increase of force here."

This is important evidence. There is no question that, if convicts from Van Diemen's Land could have been kept out of the gold-fields, there never would have been any dangerous disturbances.

June 9. The government geologist reported the existence of gold in the Turon, and other branches of the River Macquarie ; and Mr. Hardy, anxious that there should be no accumulation of diggers, posted up notices of the new discoveries.

For this measure, as tending to stimulate gold digging, for giving time to new arrivals to pay for their licences, and for not swearing in special constables, he was called to account by the Executive Council.

The advantage of dispersing the daily-arriving armies of diggers, by giving them actual intelligence instead of mere rumors for a guide, would seem obvious to any except those Mother Partingtons of legis-



lation, who still hoped to mop back the tide which had set in from other employments towards the gold-field.

June 11. Mr. Hardy writes, "All anxiety as to the payment of the license fee is at an end. I give parties, who profess themselves unable to pay at the onset, a few days. But it is well understood, and invariably acted on, that no man works more than a few days without a license ; and it is partly from this known circumstance that so many leave after a week's fruitless labor. This is, after all, of a good tendency. Universally successful diggers would leave the colony in a bad position. The return to their former employments adds greatly to the general benefit.

"With respect to special constables, I do not think I need be under any apprehension of any opposition to the payment of licenses. It was necessary on two occasions to break the cradles, and march the owners off the ground, not on account of any refusal to pay the license fee, but because the parties had worked the four or five days I had given them to determine whether they were able to pay or not, and still professed their inability to pay, and refused to take up their cradles and remove. In such cases, and indeed *in all cases, instant and determined action is necessary, and disregard of possible consequences the safest policy.* Some days ago several persons were working on Mr. Lane's land, and on the application of Mr. Rudder, who was in charge of the ground, I ordered them off. Half an hour after I found one set of men

still at work, and, though alone, and two miles away from my men, I did not hesitate to kick the cradle into the stream, and take the owner a prisoner into the town. If I had thought it necessary to call upon Mr. Rudder, and those who were with him, instead of acting as I did, I should not have succeeded better; I probably should not have succeeded at all; and the probability is, that on the many occasions when I am necessarily alone, and in remote places, I might meet with defiance, as one who could do nothing unless his police were with him. I can rely on myself; I have the most perfect reliance on the men, one and all, that the government has given me; but I could never rely on special constables, however respectable: *the more respectable the more unfit under the peculiar circumstances.* At elections, and temporary and local disturbances, special constables are, I have no doubt, sufficient for the emergency; but the bands of unknown and homeless men, which compose the greater part of this population, and who readily recognise me and my men in the performance of our duty, who laugh at what they call amateur constables, and would proceed from laughing to injuring, in the many opportunities that would offer; and these circumstances will readily present themselves to the minds of those who might be required to act as special constables; they would be a proscribed class."

The same good sense and firmness characterize Mr. Hardy's answer to the deputation of diggers who came up to present a petition and some resolutions for the reduction of the license fee from thirty shil-

lings a month to seven shillings and six pence: — “I informed them that I should advise the government not to lower the license fee, and I informed them of my reasons for doing so, as follows: It was well ascertained that about eight hundred persons earned on an average £1 per diem; that about six or seven hundred earned from three to four or five shillings a day; that about three hundred earned nothing; that the first mentioned eight hundred were able, industrious, and persevering men, working in the numerous favorable localities in the creek; that the second six or seven hundred were men who worked some time less than a week without judgment, and who had not the energy, strength, and bodily powers to be successful; that the last mentioned three hundred were men who did not work at all, but, after looking about for a day or two, went off in disgust; consequently, that to the eight hundred successful diggers the thirty-shilling fee was positively nothing, seeing that any man could live well on nine shillings a week; that the remainder — the partially and totally unsuccessful — would be much better employed in their past avocations. That the government had to consider the general interests of the community, and not those of the diggers alone, and that those general interests would not be advanced by encouraging all the laboring hands of the colony to be employed in gold digging.”

In July the rush to the diggings had somewhat moderated, when the discovery of a hundred weight of gold revived and stimulated the excitement to a

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degree which affected all classes of society; and, after that discovery, crowds of gentlemen repaired to the diggings. This great prize having been raised by a gentleman, Dr. Kerr, who had not taken out a license, the gold commissioner, in the exercise of his duty, seized it, in order to assert the rights of the crown. By an equitable arrangement it was afterwards given up, a precedent having thus been established, on payment of a royalty of ten per cent. :—

“In the first week of July an educated aboriginal, formerly attached to the Wellington mission, and who has been in the service of W. J. Kerr, Esq., of Wallawa, about seven years, returned home to his employer with the intelligence that he had discovered a large mass of gold amongst a heap of quartz upon the run whilst tending his sheep. He had amused himself by exploring the country adjacent to his employer's land, and his attention was first called to the lucky spot by observing a speck of some glittering yellow substance upon the surface of a block of the quartz, upon which he applied his tomahawk, and broke off a portion. At that moment the splendid prize stood revealed to his sight. His first care was to start off home and disclose his discovery to his master, to whom he presented whatever gold might be procured from it. As may be supposed, little time was lost by the worthy doctor. Quick as horse-flesh would carry him he was on the ground, and in a very short period the three blocks of quartz, containing *the hundred weight of gold*, were released from the bed where, charged with unknown wealth, they

had rested for thousands of years, awaiting the hand of civilized man to disturb them.

"The largest of the blocks was about a foot in diameter, and weighed 75 lbs. gross. Out of this piece 60 lbs. of pure gold was taken. Before separation it was beautifully encased in quartz. The other two were something smaller. The auriferous mass weighed as nearly as could be guessed from two to three hundred weight. Not being able to move it conveniently, Dr. Kerr broke the pieces into small fragments, and herein committed a very grand error. As specimens the glittering blocks would have been invaluable. Nothing yet known of would have borne comparison, or, if any, the comparison would have been in our favor. From the description given by him, as seen in their original state, the world has seen nothing like them yet.

"The heaviest of the two large pieces presented an appearance not unlike a honeycomb or sponge, and consisted of particles of a crystalline form, as did nearly the whole of the gold. The second larger piece was smoother, and the particles more condensed, and seemed as if it had been acted upon by water. The remainder was broken into lumps of from two to three pounds and downwards, and were remarkably free from quartz or earthy matter.

"In the place where this mass of treasure was found, quartz blocks formed an isolated heap, and were distant about one hundred yards from a quartz vein which stretches up the ridge from the Murroo Creek. The locality is the commencement of an un-

dulating tableland, very fertile, and is contiguous to a never-failing supply of water in the above named creek. It is distant about fifty-three miles from Bathurst, eighteen from Mudgee, thirty from Wellington, and eighteen to the nearest point of the Macquarie River, and is within about eight miles of Dr. Kerr's head station. The neighboring country has been pretty well explored since the discovery, but, with the exception of dust, no further indication has been found.

"In return for his very valuable services, Dr. Kerr has presented the black fellow and his brother with two flocks of sheep, two saddle horses, and a quantity of rations, and supplied them with a team of bullocks to plough some land in which they are about to sow a crop of maize and potatoes. One of the brothers, mounted on a serviceable roadster, accompanied the party into town, and appeared not a little proud of his share in the transaction."

Dr. Kerr, the fortunate finder of this lump of gold, is mentioned in one of the Voluntary Statements as an excellent, kind master. His brother-in-law, Mr. Suttor, of Brucedale, is a son of the introducer of orange-groves, also one of the most deservedly popular men in the colony.

Dr. Kerr's great prize revived the "sacred rage for gold" among the whole population, and Sydney seemed about to be deserted. New discoveries in various directions were made, among which the Turon and the Araluen diggings still continue the most profitable, after being steadily worked for nearly six months.

The following is Mr. Hardy's first report on the Turon, which subsequent experience has fully confirmed :—

“The Turon gold-field is of the most satisfactory nature, and places the settled and profitable nature of gold-digging beyond question.

“The geological nature of the Turon country, its physical conformation, and the description of gold found there, are all totally different from the same at Summerhill Creek. Summerhill Creek is narrow, confined between high ranges, with a fall so great as to make the rush of water in time of flood immensely great; and you cannot ride one hundred yards along the stream, so broken and narrow and difficult is the watercourse; and the hills are mica-slate, intersected in every direction with broad and well-defined quartz veins. On the other hand, the Turon River runs through a valley of some miles in width; that is to say, the wall of ranges that bounds one side is some miles distant from the wall of ranges that bounds it on the other, though there are plenty of intermediate ranges breaking up the general run of the valley.

“Then the Turon hills are twice the height of the Summerhill ditto. They are formed of mica-slate (without much mica), and no quartz veins whatever. I walked nine miles down the river and back, and, with the exception of slight and ill-defined indications, saw no quartz veins. As might be expected, therefore, from the width of the valley, the bed of the Turon is broad, level, not tortuous, compared with Summerhill Creek, presenting few of those abrupt

elbows so frequent in the former. In short, that river rolls on in time of flood (which rises about twelve feet) in a comparatively uninterrupted stream, over a smooth bed, along which, for miles, where the water is low, as at present, drays can travel with great ease.

“In Summerhill Creek the gold is always large in the grain, often massive, seldom thin and scaly. At the Turon the gold for the nine miles I have carefully investigated is precisely the gold enclosed. Then the Summerhill Creek has its barren straight reaches, and its profitable slopes; whereas in the whole course of the Turon (for that nine miles I have mentioned) the production of gold appears to be as regular as wheat in a sown field. No sloping elbows; no narrow, long gorges. I found several parties whom I knew at Summerhill at work several miles apart on the Turon. They had tried up and down (for that nine miles, and a few miles further down), in hopes of getting into the coarse gold of Summerhill; but the result was always the same. It does not matter where, in the bed of the creek or the impending banks, you work: any steady working men can earn ten shillings a day with the utmost regularity. I found a settler named Schofield one hundred yards from his own door. He had been working at Summerhill, and said that he had left it only because what he was now getting was at his own door, and as much as he wanted, though he had averaged 30s. a day at Summerhill. He told me of his trials in various parts, and of his invariable success. He had just come to his work from dinner



when I came up to his cradle, and showed me the proceeds of a morning's work in a pannakin, got by one cradle, himself and two men. It was exactly one quarter of an ounce, and I gave him 16s. for it. He gave me and I weighed the proceeds of their work for the previous (4) four days, and it was exactly two ounces: I found exactly the same result from two other parties in other parts of the creek, whom I knew at Summerhill, and who had come to the Turon because they resided near at hand. In short, from the top of the bank across the whole bed of the river (from fifty to one hundred yards wide), and from the whole of that nine miles at least, the result is as absolutely to be depended upon as weekly wages, and 5,000 workers would be nothing in that space. You must, however, observe that Schofield and his mates, and the other persons whom I knew, were steady, hard-working men, who began at sunrise, and, with the interval of an hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner, kept steadily on till sundown. I hear from Mr. Richards and from others of a larger production, of an ounce a day by various people, but I disbelieve such accounts. The men from whom I gather my conclusion are steady, regular workers, accustomed to the business. However, the true yield to the industrious and able, as I have stated above, is by far the most satisfactory condition I have met with, and leads me to believe that, in connection with the production of similar gold down the Macquarie, and in other streams within forty miles of Bathurst, the production of gold may be termed illimitable.

"I wish to call your attention also to another plain deduction from the facts I have above stated. In Summerhill Creek, with its numerous quartz veins, and its broken bed and narrow, tortuous course, giving rise to eddies, and their results in slopes and precipices, the gold is massive in its general character; the dust of that quarter being exceedingly coarse compared with the Turon. In the Turon nine miles, with its regular, wide, unbroken bed and banks, its straighter course, and its absence of quartz veins, the gold is exceedingly fine. I most confidently believe that the said Turon gold is the production chiefly of the upper and unexplored and broken sources of the Turon; that there, too, will be found the narrower, steeper country, and the multitudinous quartz veins; there too, the coarse gold detached from its neighboring matrix, too heavy to be carried with the lighter particles with every flood towards the Macquarie."

From the end of May we are indebted to the correspondents of the Sydney papers for many striking descriptions of the diggers and the diggings. The journey to Bathurst was easily performed by mail-coach or on horseback. Arrived at Bathurst, the explorer found himself in the midst of a rich pastoral and agricultural district, in which every fertile valley had a small colony of settlers, ready to supply flour, meal, milk, and butter, at reasonable charges.

The Bathurst district consists of elevated tableland, intersected by barren ridges, watered by a series of Australian rivers flowing from the Aumatolas Mountains, most of which have been found to be auriferous.

The gold-diggers, instead of settling in a wilderness infested by grizzly bears and savage Indians, like California, found themselves in a district where a market was only needed to call into cultivation thousands of acres of capital land — at Frederick's Valley, a gold placer of extraordinary richness, belonging to Mr. Wentworth; at Summerhill Farms, at King's Plains, Pretty Plains, Emu Swamp, and the Cornish Settlement, where the crops in the severest droughts never failed.

The Summerhill diggings, which are now nearly exhausted, and the style of life which prevails throughout the interior of Australia, are well depicted in the following sketch by a correspondent of the *Sydney Morning Herald*:—

“Monday, June 2.—In the morning the ice was thick upon the water in the dishes outside, and the ground covered with hoar frost, as it always is here in fine weather at this season; hot days and frosty nights.

“To an unscientific eye the gold country (Bathurst district) consists of a mass, not of ranges, but apparently of points of ranges, thrown together without any regular arrangement, but dovetailing into one another like the teeth of two saws placed close together, face to face; these teeth again being cut into smaller pieces by narrow precipitous gullies; many of them nearly as deep as the main creek itself. Small creeks twist and twine down these narrow gullies, which have a sudden bend every half-dozen yards, into the Summerhill or main creek, which twists and twines

like the others, but on a larger scale. The banks of the gullies are precipitous on both sides, but in the main creek there are alternate bluffs and low points, the teeth of the saw sloping gently down, diminishing in height as they do in width, till they come to a point overhung on the opposite side by a high bluff or precipice, which forms the inside of the nick of the opposite saw; and, as we stood upon the edge of the cliff, we looked down nearly two hundred feet over and along each side of the opposite point, dotted with tents and gunyas of bark or branches, each with its fire in front, sending the blue smoke up into the clear frosty morning air; some under the noble swamp oaks at the water's edge, others behind and under the box and gum trees which towered one above another till the rising branch was merged in the main ridge behind. The point was occupied by about fifteen parties cutting straight into the hill; and, as we looked down upon their busy movements, digging, carrying earth, and working the cradles at the edge of the water, with the noise of the pick, the sound of voices, and the washing of the shingle in the iron boxes of the cradles, I could scarcely believe that two months ago this was a quiet secluded gully in a far-out cattle run, where a solitary stock keeper or black fellow on the hunt were all that ever broke the solitude of nature. On saying so to Scotch Harry, he said that he had stock-kept there for nearly twenty years, and when he came there were flocks of kangaroos; these were driven off by the cattle, and now they were as completely driven off by the gold-diggers. 'Little

enough the first occupiers thought of gold,' I remarked. 'Yes,' answered Scotch Harry, 'and it would be well for some of these fellows if they thought as little;' and he told us of two who had gone mad already—one a shepherd, in the neighborhood, found a piece while poking about his run, and came to him making a great mystery about the place, till he could find no more, when he took him to it, but it was a chance piece, and not accompanied by five or six more, as is usually the case; the fellow, however, was not satisfied, and continued searching about, till, from excitement and anxiety, he went mad; the other was a man who, after starving for two days, found 5 lbs. weight, fainted repeatedly, and is now in confinement. Kerr said that two months ago hardly a traveler passed his house in a week, now they were in crowds every hour; his children never thought there were so many people in the world before, and wondered what it all meant; he could hardly believe it himself. We did not find our dray, but heard of it close at hand, and sat down to look about us. Drays and parties of men were arriving every few minutes, many of whom gave a cheer as if they saw fortune in their hand when they looked down upon the workers in the bed of the creek below; some were putting up tents and gunyas, and some working, but all busy and in good humor, barring the men who were constantly leaving, and looked sufficiently disgusted. We were a good deal puzzled how to get our baggage carried to Messrs. Roach and Barrington's, as it would take at least two days to carry seven hundred weight over



REMOVING GOODS.



two miles of such ridges, or down the bed of the creek, cut up as it is in every direction ; but, just as the last rays of the sun were leaving the top of the ridge, a party of nine native warriors, in their new government blankets, painted, and armed with spears and boomerangs, came winding down the bank. As they passed through our camp, I asked the foremost if they would carry our baggage, to which they at once agreed, and camped with us.

“ We were all astir at daylight, and found the water frozen in the bucket, and the tops of our blankets quite wet within the tent. The loads were adjusted, and the blacks, with the two men, started under the guidance of the company, and returned about noon by a short cut, we remaining to erect the tent. On loading them again, one fellow complained that a pot of beef hurt his head, so I gave him a roll of brown paper, but soon found my mistake, as not a man would move without the same, so that when I came to the last there was not a scrap left ; he had only bedding to carry, and I explained to him that no pad was necessary, but he drew himself up and asked if I thought him a fool ; ‘ Another one black fellow hab it.’ He was evidently in earnest, and would have left his load there and then, had I not clapped a calling-card on his shaggy bullet head, and he went off quite proud ; we gave them one shilling each and their rations, which is high pay for a black. Many return at once, without giving it one minute’s trial. I saw one party arrive, six respectable-looking, hard-working men, all well provided with tools, clothes and



provisions. As I stood conversing with one of them, who was putting the things together to move to their tent, a parcel unrolled, and a Bible and Prayer-book fell out. He looked up, and said they should not forget these even for gold, to which I assented, with the remark that men would get none the less gold for minding them."

The Turon, which, like many Australian names, was scarcely known beyond its immediate neighborhood before the gold discoveries, rises in the county of Roxburgh, near Cullen Cullen, and flows, like the Summerhill Creek, into the Macquarie. On its banks Sofala has been founded. Here it was that the art of cradling gold and washing gold was learned by thousands who have since removed to Mount Alexander and other districts.

In the first instance gold was so carelessly washed that little boys made a living of as much as £3 or £6 a week by rewashing the refuse or "tailings" that flowed from the cradles of the men. The process will be found more minutely described in an account of a journey to Ballarat.

The gold fields of the Turon include river-bed claims and dry diggings.

In the river-bed claims it is the object to clear a deep hole of water, and then wash the mud and sand which have been carried there in the course of ages; partly washed to the hand of the miner by the torrents of nature. In "dry diggings," the earth after being raised, must be carefully broken up and washed.

Fortunate diggers come, from time to time upon

lumps or "nuggets" of various sizes, which once excited great attention and curious comparison between those found in quartz, in clay, in alluvial mould ; but now in the auction-rooms of Sydney and Melbourne they excite no more attention, unless of rare beauty, than so much copper or lead.

The immediate result of the rush to the Bathurst gold-fields was to supply the district with labor at reasonable rates. A traveler observes : " We were much struck by the difference between their ideas of the mines and those of men at a greater distance. To the latter the gold country is a place with pieces of gold ready to be picked up without trouble, and they start off, trusting to find food somehow, and quarters somewhere, as they have done hitherto in the bush ; but to these men here it is an open box forest, with severe frosts every night, sleet and snow for weeks at a time, without any accommodations whatever, or rations, unless paid for in hard money, at three times the usual price ; if they turn out, they exchange their comfortable, warm hut and regular meals for cold and hunger at once, so that there is no room for the imagination to work. And though they all intend to give it a trial when they get their discharge, and their wages to fit them out, they expressed the greatest astonishment at the folly of the men they saw passing every day, totally unprovided : they looked upon them as literally mad."

Amid the sounds of rejoicing from those who for the first time found themselves amply repaid for every week's hard work in solid gold, there were of course

many failures. There were thousands who came up to dig for gold who had never dug a rood of garden in their lives, and never slept out of the house. To a working man who had been accustomed to toil for weekly wages, it was nothing to dig all the week, and if one hole or spot did not suit to go on and try another. Hard work is second nature to such; but of gentlemen, clerks, shopmen, city mechanics, there were many who easily broke down, worn out by the labor, by the exposure to night air, change of living, and bad luck. At least fifty per cent. of the adventurers are obliged to retire after a short probation.

A stock of clothing is indispensable, of at least one good change, with boots of the best leather: half the diggers get lame from their boots growing hard with wet.

The cost of tools, utensils and provisions for four persons for five weeks, is £23 3s. 10d. Carriage and expenses on the road from Sydney, £8; licenses payable before commencing to work, £6.

The following are the regulations enforced at the diggings:

"All persons digging or searching for alluvial gold to take out a license, the license fee being at the rate of £1 10s. per month. All gold procured without due authority is liable to seizure, in whose possession soever it be. Persons applying for license required to prove they are not absent from hired service. Claims to work unoccupied ground to be marked out on the following scale:

- "1. Fifteen feet frontage to either side of a river or main creek.
- "2. Twenty feet of the bed of a tributary to a river or main creek, extending across its whole breadth.
- "3. Sixty feet of the bed of a ravine or watercourse.



**THE DISAPPOINTED GOLD SEEKER.**



"4. Twenty feet square of tableland or river flats.

"These claims to be secured to parties only as they may continue to hold licenses for the same, except in case of flood or accident. Licenses liable to be canceled on conviction of the holders of selling spirits, or of any disorderly and riotous conduct. Persons found working alluvial gold on public or private lands without a license, to pay a double license fee. Disputes as to claims to be settled by the commissioners. Licenses to dig on lands alienated from the crown, to be issued only to the proprietors, or persons authorized by the proprietors, in writing, to apply for the same. The fee for such licenses to be 15s. per month. Licenses for draining ponds and waterholes, for the purpose of obtaining alluvial gold, to be obtainable on paying as many license fees as shall be proportioned to the area of the waterhole—calculating twenty-five feet square for every license. Reservoirs and dams for the purpose of washing gold to be constructed on the permission of the commissioners. Owners of claims employing laborers, and paying license fees for them, allowed to transfer such licenses to other laborers. All persons searching for matrix gold, by working auriferous quartz veins, to pay a royalty of ten per cent. on all gold obtained, to an officer appointed by the government. The party working the vein to come under a bond in the sum of £1,000 to pay such royalty; the government officer to reside on the land, and to have access to the buildings and premises, and to all books and accounts connected with the production of gold. All buildings and machinery erected on the land to be considered as additional security to the government. The claim to consist of half a mile, and in the course of the vein, with a quarter of a mile on each side of the vein reserved for building purposes, &c. The right to cut timber and to use water on the land to be granted. The claim to be forfeited by neglecting to pay the prescribed royalty; by not employing twenty persons or machinery, calculating one horse power to seven men, within six months after the application for the claim has been accepted; or by ceasing to employ that number subsequently; by the employment of unlicensed persons to work alluvial gold on the claim, or violating in any way the terms of the bond. The duration of the claims to be three years, to be extended further under instructions from her Majesty's government, if the conditions of the bond have

all been fulfilled. No portion of the land previously occupied and claimed for alluvial gold will be open for selection for matrix gold while it continues to be worked for the former. The royalty for working auriferous quartz on private lands to be five per cent. Persons occupying portions of the gold-field for trading purposes to pay a license fee of £1 10s. per month."

The opening of gold-fields in the Goulburn district, another fine pastoral and agricultural country, seventy miles from Sydney and on the Shoalhaven River, followed the Turon, and every day brought some new obscure spot into temporary attention ; but nine-tenths of the reports are mere repetitions of the same colored story. In May, 1852, the localities in New South Wales figuring for large amounts in the Sydney gold circulars were Major's Creek, Araluen, Braidwood, and Sofala, on the Turon. At all these new centres of population arrangements were made for the performance of religious worship by the heads of the several denominations. The Bishop of Australia, himself, dug the first posthole for a church at Sofala, raised by the voluntary contributions of the people ; and the government, by order in council, offered to the members of those societies of the religious community who were in the habit of receiving assistance, a salary for such of their clergy and ministers as would proceed to the gold-diggings of £150 per annum, with an allowance for horse hire and house rent.

The next important event was the opening of the gold-fields of Victoria.

Gold was sold in small quantities to a jeweler of the name of Brettance, in 1848, which was found on the

banks of the River Loddon, at the foot of the Clunes Hill, which is supposed to be of volcanic origin, and rises from a plane.

In August, after a reward had been offered for the discovery of gold in the Port Phillip district, the diggings were opened at the Clunes, whence a piece of two pounds of fine grain gold was sold. Afterwards they were successfully opened at Buninyong, a deep gorge formed by the bed of Anderson's Creek, in the heart of stringy bark ranges.

The weather was unfavorable, and the first attempt to levy license fees at the Clunes created discontent. A different spirit from that at the Turon was displayed; the people struck their tents and retreated further into the ranges, which led to the discovery of Ballarat.

The commissioner having acted with great discretion, taken pains to conciliate, and applied his mechanical talent to constructing a better cradle, an improved feeling was created.

In September the returns were better — more nuggets — one man eight ounces in a week. Success soon brought two hundred up, and, the weather clearing, gold-gathering became one of the trades of Victoria, and license fees, being found a protection, were paid willingly. Diggers combined to preserve order, held meetings and settled all disputed points.

At Clunes the rock was mined; at Ballarat the soil only was washed.

In October the government escort was established, and large returns were raised daily. By the middle



of the month ten thousand men were at work with 1,200 or 1,300 cradles at Ballarat. The estimated daily earnings were £10,000, very unequally distributed.

In the same month a public meeting of the Ballarat diggers was held, to adopt measures for securing a supply of water during the coming dry season, and a subscription of one shilling a head was commenced for the purpose of damming up the waters of the creek; the commissioner of crown lands was elected treasurer; and any surplus was to go towards an hospital for the sick diggers.

In September the gold was found in such quantities in the new fields of Mount Alexander, more properly *The Forest Creek Diggings*, being seven miles from that mountain, as to attract large numbers from Ballarat.

Here gold was taken up by pocket-knives from soil a few inches below the surface in such profusion that one man filled a quart pot with small nuggets in the course of the day.

A rush took place from all other diggings to the last-found region, and in a very few days there were eight thousand at work.

In November three tons of gold lay at the commissioner's tent at Forest Creek waiting for an escort, and not less than twenty-five thousand persons were working at the spot.

On December 1st, government issued a notice raising the license fee to £3 a month; but this move met so much resistance that it was almost immediately rescinded.

The dry weather setting in, the diggers in the course of January were reduced to 10,000 persons.

In January the new Legislative council came to a series of resolutions adverse to the licensing system, and suggested an export duty.

In the same month a working man found at the Forest Creek diggings the largest lump of gold yet discovered, weighing 27 lbs. 8 oz., perfectly pure, free from quartz or other impurity, which he sold to a Melbourne dealer.

On January 27th another gold-field was discovered at two hundred and sixty miles from Melbourne, situated round Lake Omeo, at the foot of the Australian Alps, washed by the River Mitta, which takes its rise in the Snowy Mountains. These diggings were so amply supplied with water that they could only be worked in the dry seasons, which rendered most other fields valueless ; but great results have been obtained from this new field.

In May, 1852, the numbers at Mount Alexander were estimated at from thirty to forty thousand souls, and the state of the roads, hacked up by the constant traffic, excited fears lest in the rainy season the drays from Melbourne should be so impeded that the supplies of flour and tea would fall short.

The effect on South Australia of the gold discoveries of the adjoining provinces was ruinous. Their copper mines were deserted, fifteen thousand souls proceeded to the diggings, almost all their coin was abstracted, insolvency became all but universal, in some districts the male population was so reduced

that the women were in fear of attacks from the aborigines, the subordinate officials resigned their situations in dozens, while the falling off of the revenues rendered any increase of salary a difficult question.

Under these circumstances, on the advice of the newly constituted Legislative Council, two measures were adopted — First, an ordinance was hurried through the Legislative Council by which gold assayed and stamped by a government officer was made a legal tender for land purchased from government, or for customs duties, and for all other payments; bank notes of the colony being at the same time also made legal tender, under certain restrictions as to extent of issue. The main object of this measure was to induce successful South Australian gold-diggers to return to the colony with their spoils; and in this respect it has proved, to a certain degree, effective. The second measure, of a more simple and practical nature, was still more successful. A sum of money was voted for opening up an overland route to Mount Alexander. The deputy surveyor-general, the commissioner of police, with a strong party of sappers and miners, were at once employed in clearing away obstructions, sinking wells, and otherwise in making the road practicable for drays, for a distance of four hundred miles; and the work was so expeditiously done that by the middle of March, having commenced in February, the first gold escort from the Forest Creek diggings arrived in Adelaide. The journey was done in a light cart, with relays, in eight days. And in May £75,000

had been remitted from the diggers, of which a large portion was destined for their families.

The following sketch is condensed from a paper which appeared in the Port Phillip magazine :

*" A Tandem Drive from Melbourne to Ballarat.*

"Having cleared the city we overtook the golden army of bullock drays moving northward, surrounded by companies of men and lads : occasionally a female is seen. Four bulldogs pull one carriage, a great dog in the shafts of another, and a man pushing behind at a load of near five hundred weight.

"Presently the splendid panorama opened to view an extensive sweep of plains, encircled by mountain ranges in the remote distance. Far as the eye can reach, the pilgrimage, its line moving along the undulations, now hid, now rising into view — English and Germans, Irish and Scotch, Tasmanians. . . .

"Sixteen drays at Yuille's Ford, and nearly two hundred people. It is nearly impassable, from the fresh current of yesterday's rain. But the men, tailing on to the ropes by dozens, pull both the horses and carts through. Some there are pulling, some cooking their midday meals, some unloading their drays, some moving off the ground. Over the ford, the road is delightful, the scenery charming, the land more broken, and timbered like a park. Ladidak comes in view, a beautiful ravine formed by the convergence of several hills, at the base of which the river so winds that it must be crossed thrice.

"Where formerly was silence, only broken by the

voice of the bell bird, now bullock drays, bullocks, and bullock drivers, are shouting, roaring, and swearing up the hills, or descending, splashing through the once clear stream. On, on until the expanse of Bacchus Marsh opens, until lately a favorite meet of our hounds.

“A camp of tents had been formed by those who think it discreet to put off the crossing struggle until their beasts have had the benefit of a night’s rest; loud is the ringing of bullock bells; meanwhile an impromptu bridge of a tree has been thrown across the river, and men are crossing and recrossing like a stream of ants. A dray deep in the stream makes a complete capsizes before it can be hauled through.

“Our tandem dog-cart dashes through gallantly, we reach the Pentland Hills, where another encampment has been formed in the long ravine, we trot on slowly, the moon bright, the sky cloudless, a sharp frost nips the uplands, the campers eating, drinking, and smoking; architects, jewellers, chemists, book-sellers, tailor, tinker, and sailor, all cold but cheerful. At the next station we halt and enjoy our friend’s fire and supper.

“The next morning broke bright and fresh; the ground was white with frost; at daylight the train of pilgrims were crossing the plain — the Germans with wheelbarrows led the way. At Ballan we find the inn eaten out. A horse passed at speed bearing on his back two horsemen. We meet sulky parties of the unsuccessful returning, and see signs in small excavations of prospecting parties. The forest grows

denser ; toward evening we reach the hospitable roof of Lal Lal, where at daybreak all the laughing jackasses of the colony seemed to have established a representative assembly. Ha, ha, ha ! ho, ho, ho ! hu, hu, hu ! rang forth in every variety of key innumerable.

“The cavalcade in motion splashes through the broad river, where one driver, in his shirt, without breeches, walks beside and urges on his horses, fearful of his dray sticking on the way. Our next point is Warren Neep, where we refresh with a draught from the delicious mineral springs. Two miles from Warren Neep the hills begin gradually to slope towards Ballarat. The forest trees are loftier and denser, but the surface soil is not so richly grassed. The road emerges on to a rich bottom of considerable extent, and the hill to the left extends upwards in such a gentle slope as to diminish the appearance of his height. Within a mile and a half of Golden Point the tents begin to peer through the trees. The Black Hill rises precipitously on the right from a creek that washes its base, and through its thick—forest covering the road is visible down which the carriers are conveying their earth.

“The bank of the creek is lined with cradles, and the washers are in full operation. Round the base of the mountain, on the further side, at right angles with this creek, the River Lee flows ; and for half a mile along its bank the cradles are at work. We descend, leave the road, cross the bottom, spring over a dam, and are among the workmen. ‘Rock,

rock, rock ! swish, swosh, swish !' such the universal sound.

"The cradle is placed lengthwise with the water. The *cradleman*, holding the handle in his left hand, with a stick or scraper to break the lumps of earth or stir up the contents, keeps the cradle constantly going. The *waterman*, standing at the head of the cradle with a ladle of any kind, keeps baling water continuously into it. A third man washes carefully into a large tin dish the deposit that has fallen through the sieves of the cradle on to the boards beneath, carries it into the stream, where he stands knee-deep, and, tilting the dish up under the water, and shaking its contents, the precious metal falls to the bottom, while the earth and sand are washed out by the water.

"After long washing the glittering dust is seen along the bottom edges of the dish. This residuum is carefully washed into a pannikin, dried over the fire, and bottled or packed for exportation. Meanwhile the "cradleman" and "waterman" examine the quartz stones in the upper sieve for quartz gold. Occasionally some are found with pieces of quartz adhering, the rest are thrown aside. The cradle filled, the men are at work again, and the rock, rock recommences. On the top of the hill the diggers are hard at work ; the carriers descend the steep side, dragging a loaded sled filled with the gold-impregnated earth, some with vessels on their heads, others with bags on their backs. The earth thrown down, they reascend the toilsome way ; and this is the process 'from morn till dewy eve.'

"Returning to the road, the outer encampment this side of Golden Point became visible. A sound is heard like the continuous beat of a thousand muffled drums, or the rushing of a mighty waterfall. As we issue from the trees the cause is beheld. From the margin of the forest a broad swamp spreads, through which the Lee runs. Over against you the broad shoulder of a bold hill is pushed out to meet its attacking waters, and round its base run the swamp waters, uniting with the river. Along this the cradles are ranged for about half a mile, on both sides of the creek and down the river, forming the letter T with the ends upturned. They are crowded so closely together as barely to permit being worked, in some places in triple file. As this distance you see some of the excavations, and the carriers swarming up and down hill with all sorts of vessels, from the bag to the wheelbarrow. The enormous ant-hive swarms like a railway cutting, where the crown of a hill is carried down to fill a valley.

"Higher up the hill's crest, along its sides, and stretching down to the swamp far away to the right and left, are the tents, thickly clustered and pitched, and, far beyond, the lofty white-barked trees form a background. This is Ballarat!

"Crossing the swamp, we reach the commissioner's tent, where he is trying a depredator, who, for want of a lock-up, has been tied to a tree all through the hard night's frost.

"Troops of horses, drays, carts, and gigs, with their owners, are all around. Squatter, merchant, farmer,



shopkeeper, laborer, shepherd, artisan, law, physic, and divinity, are all here. . . . .

You meet men you have not seen for years, but they recognize you first, for even your most intimate friends are scarcely to be known in their disguise of costume, beard, and dirt. . . . .

'Welcome to Golden Point!' 'Ah, old friend! hardly knew you. How are you getting on?' 'Did nothing for a week; tried six holes and found no gold. My party, disheartened, left me. I found another party; sunk eighteen feet until we came to the quartz, and dug through it, and now I have reached the blue clay. It is a capital hole; come and see it.'

"Imagine a gigantic honeycomb, in which the cells are eight feet wide and from six to twenty-five feet deep, with the partitions proportionately thin, and to follow a friend to find a hole in the very midst is dangerous work—

'Lightly tread, 'tis hollowed ground.'

"The miners move nimbly about, with barrow, pick, and bag, swarming along the narrow ledges, while below others are picking, shoveling, and heating the stove.

"'No danger, sir; our bank is supported by quartz. We've got to the gold at last. Made an ounce yesterday. There was a man killed yesterday three holes off; the bank fell down on him as he was squatting down this way, picking under the bank, and squeezed him together. His mate had his head cut, and was covered up to the throat.'

"Down the shady excuse for a ladder, half the way, then a jump, and the bottom of the capital hole is gained. Nearly four feet of red sand formed the upper layer, next a strata of pipeclay, below which lie the quartz boulders; then a formation of quartz pebbles, with sand impregnated with iron; this penetrated, the bluish marl is reached in which the vein of gold is found.

"Down among the men washing there is nothing to be observed. The work is earnest—no time for talk.

"The commissioner has a busy time in issuing licenses. His tent has the mounted police on one side, and the native police on the other. The black fellows are busy tailoring; one on the broad of his back, in the sun, with his eyes shut, chanting a monotonous aboriginal dity.

"Three men are waiting their turn with the commissioner.

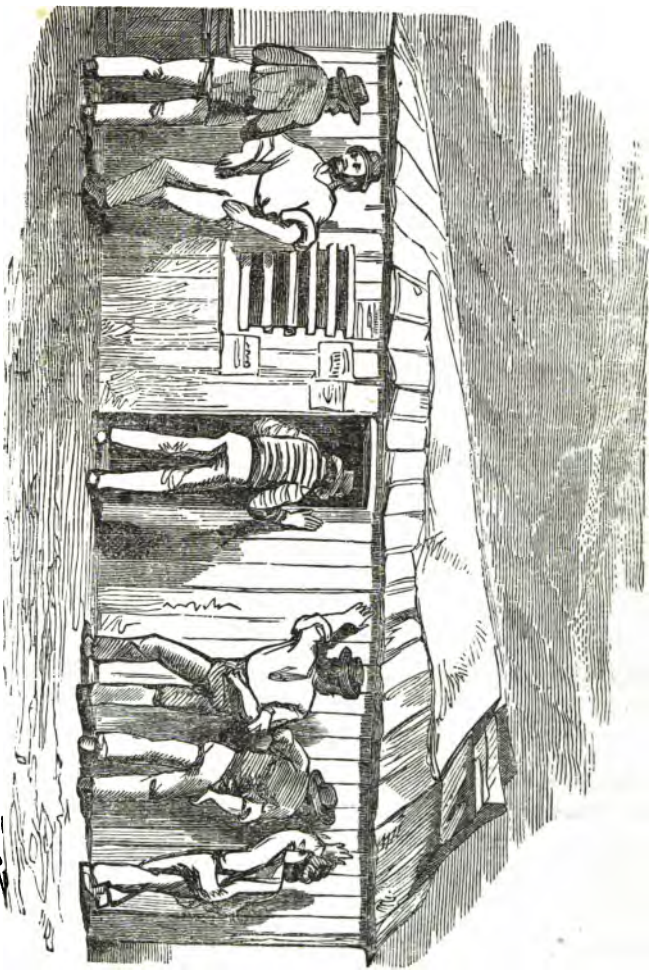
"I say, Bill, this here's rayther respectable okipashum—that cove with the specs is a first-class swell in Melbourne, and there's a lot in the same party with him. The greatest nobs are all the same as uz snobs! I saw Mr. ——— from the Barwon here this morning: he found his shepherd in a hole getting gold, an no mistake! He comes with his brother to have a turn with the rest; but when he saw him he looked non-plushed, and said to himself, "Well, I can't go down to this,"—and I believe the fool started back;—but come, it's our turn now.'

• . . . .

"The evening shadows fall, the gun from the commissioner's tent is fired, the signal for digging to cease, the fires blaze up, the men gather round them for their evening meal, their smoke floats over the trees as over a city, the sounds of labor are hushed, but are succeeded by loud voices and ringing laughter, mingled with the bells of the browsing oxen, and the dogs baying more loudly as the darkness grows more dark. A party of gamblers are staking each a pinch of gold-dust on the turn of a copper. The native police, lithe and graceful as kangaroo-dogs, are enjoying a round of sham combat; one black fellow attacks with a frying-pan; the other pretends to shoot him with his knife: a painter might study their attitudes. Hark! to the sax-horns from the Black Hill floating to us across the valley; close at hand the sweet melody of German hymn in chorus rises; and then down from toward the river comes the roaring chorus of a sailor's song. The space and distance mellow in one harmonious whole all the sounds; and as we retreat they fall upon one wearied with hard labor, like the rich hum of an English meadow in harvest time.

"A flash! a bang! another! now platoon-firing, become infectious: the sounds of war mingle with and overpower the music."

*Sunday at the Diggings.* — "The warm day terminated in a bitter cold night, and a storm of snow and hail ushered in Sunday; for we are 1,200 feet above the sea. On the Sabbath digging and washing gold cease; but the axe and the hammer ring continually,



POST OFFICE AT SOFALA.



and the crash of falling timber booms over the hills. The miners, with what few wives are there, are building huts, mending tents, gathering fire-wood, and washing out their mud-stained garments.

"The men soon assume a clean and more civilized costume, form groups, compare notes, make calls. The unsuccessful wander off into remote spots, prospecting. Some start for the post-office. The tide of emigrants flows in, and men who never before dwelt out of reach of an inn and a waiter have to learn now to camp under a tree and cook a chop without a frying-pan."

Mount Alexander by an eye-witness:—

"MOUNT ALEXANDER, *March 2.*

"I returned yesterday evening from the Forest Creek diggings, after a sojourn of some fourteen days, during which time I have employed myself in collecting such information as may prove serviceable to your readers.

"Any description of the scene which bursts upon the new comer as he descends the ranges that border the creek would be next to superfluous, for so many writers have gone before in the portraiture of your own numerous diggings that it would be but repetition were I to delineate those of Mount Alexander. The same numerous tents, the same blazing watch-fires, the same barking of dogs and firing of guns, the same busy hum of man invading the territory hitherto given up to the beast or the savage; all these are the same as with you — If I, perhaps, except that with us there is much more of each and every of them than there is in your colony. The Forest Creek diggings extend for a distance of some ten or twelve miles down the creek of that name, which is a tributary of the Loddon, the whole of the short ridges and gullies running down into it having proved highly auriferous, while many of the back ranges and gullies have also produced good samples of gold.

"Two miles further down the creek the tent of the commissioner

is situated, forming of course the official, though not the real, centre of the diggings; and around this, as if his very presence gave security, innumerable stores are built, while the whole space is thickly covered with tents. Just at this spot, also, Fryar's Creek joins the Forest Creek, the diggings extending some eight or ten miles, if not more, from the junction; the road, however, crosses the ranges a little below the post-office, extending about five miles, when it comes upon the creek in the heart of the diggings. The first range, or rather ridge, below the post-office, is the celebrated Red Hill, where such large amounts of gold were collected, and at the base of which the great surface washings lay. This base is a free-stone rock, with a slight slope to the east. On this lies a heavy concrete mass, principally of ironstone, while the whole of the soil to the surface is strongly impregnated with iron, giving the hill the red appearance from which its name is derived. On the top of the ridge the holes that have been sunk have seldom exceeded twenty-four or twenty feet when the rock was reached; but at the base the rock seems to have been almost cleared, doubtless by the action of floods of the mass that must have at some time covered it, leaving it in many cases bare, and scattered the golden treasures that reposed upon it among the alluvial soil of the gully. Next to the Red Hill is the Adelaide Hill, and beyond that again the White Hill, both of which are also not unknown to fame, from the vast quantities of gold that have been drawn from their bosoms. In a narrow gully across the creek, and nearly opposite the post-office, is the cemetery of the diggings; already there are six graves, the last having been filled so late as Thursday last.

"These were the first localities upon which digging was commenced, and yet there are still very many of the holes that are being profitably worked. From these the diggers have gradually extended themselves, till there is hardly a range or a watercourse that has not been delved into in search of the 'glittering dross.' This is more the case at present than at any other time, as the scarcity of water will not allow of any earth being washed but such as will produce a very large amount of gold. Water is attainable, but not in the waterholes of the creek, every one of which is now choked up by the tailings of the cradles; but by sinking on the flats of the creek very good water is procured at a depth of about

twenty feet. This plan is now being pursued. A party sinks a well, and then cuts a hole for washing in, the cradle being placed in a convenient position; water is then drawn up from the well, and the soil, which has been carted from the hole where it was dug, is thus washed. In all cases the stuff washed is some very choice pickings from the strata of the hole such as the experience of the miner leads him to believe may contain gold. Very many, however, who dislike the toil and expense attendant upon this process, are simply working their holes as dry diggings—nuggetting, as it is called here—putting aside such of the stuff as appears likely, and saving it for a more propitious season. Many hundreds have done this, and the advent of rain will turn out an amount of gold that will astonish the good folks of Melbourne.

“Another effect that the drought has had has been that it has dispersed the diggers in every direction over the face of the country. Gullies, creeks, hills, ridges, watercourses, and ranges, have all been ransacked and turned over, till the whole country is now pretty well known to some or other of the diggers; and with water several spots that are known to be rich will be worked to advantage. In this search it is amusing to see the eagerness of the gold-seekers. Dozens will watch the movements of a prospector; while the slightest rumor of a golden discovery in any particular locality will send hundreds to the spot, and will cause the ground to be parceled out, lotted, and worked with the most astounding rapidity.”

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## CHAPTER XX.

### CONCLUSION.

THROUGHOUT this work it has been our chief endeavor to afford information on various important subjects not to be found to the same extent in other works. We have not space, and have not attempted



to digest the numerous and most interesting accounts of the gold-fields which are constantly appearing in the daily and weekly press. These accounts alone would fill a volume of description and incidents. In a picturesque point of view, the task will be much better performed by some of the several distinguished authors who are engaged in making a tour of the gold districts.

The results of the discovery to the intending colonists and colonizing statesman may be summed up in a few words and figures.

The two colonies of New South Wales and Victoria had in 1850 a population something short of a quarter of a million, which at the close of 1852 will have swelled to near three hundred thousand souls. These colonies exported in that year to the value of two millions four hundred thousand pounds sterling, of which one million six hundred thousand pounds was derived from wool, and three hundred thousand pounds from tallow. The imports amounted to two million and eighty thousand pounds, of which the greater proportion consisted of British manufactures imported in British ships.

Up to May, 1852, exactly twelve months after the first party, under the direction of Edward Hargreaves, raised gold from Summerhill Creek, gold had been exported from New South Wales and Victoria to the value of three millions six hundred thousand pounds sterling, and the value of the then rate of production was calculated at ten millions sterling. The revenue of New South Wales for the quarter ending 31st

March, 1852, had risen in round numbers to £120,000, being an excess of £30,000 over the same quarter in 1851. The revenue of Victoria for the same period to £230,000, being an increase of fully £180,000 over the same quarter of 1851.

At the same time the export of gold, which has in the first year exceeded by twelve hundred thousand pounds all the previous exports of the two gold-producing colonies, has had the effect of attracting and establishing a broad stream of self-supporting emigration. Previous to those discoveries four-fifths of the emigration to Australia consisted of destitute agricultural laborers and their wives, whose passages were paid out of the rents and sales of waste lands. The self-paying emigration will very soon exceed in numbers the government emigration, and thus the colonial population will be recruited by a much more intelligent, educated, and active class than those who have hitherto been draughted out for service as shepherds and laborers from the least educated districts of England and Ireland.

Up to the present time there is no evidence that the forebodings of the pastoral proprietors as to the total destruction of the flocks have been realized, although it is probable that during the year 1852 the increase of flocks, which has been hitherto proceeding at the rate of sixty per cent. per annum, will be arrested. A very large per centage of the new arrivals find the labor of gold digging and gathering greater than they can endure, and these must necessarily fall back upon the staple employments of the colony, as shepherds,

stockmen, ploughmen, agricultural laborers, gardeners, and vinedressers. We believe that after a very short period of reaction it will be found, that while the great prizes of the gold-fields are sufficient to attract a steady stream of self-supporting emigration, the overplus unfit for such laborious work will be sufficient to maintain, if not to increase, the flocks of sheep, the herds of cattle and horses, which have hitherto supplied the exports of the two colonies, and to carry on those copper mines of South Australia, which are really worth working with the pick, although it may close those opened by the aid of the pen and share list.

If these anticipations are realized, and our figures support them, gold will increase, not supersede, the employment and exports hitherto maintained. It will do more. Every gold-digger gives occupation to at least three other men, in feeding him, clothing him, and moving what he produces and what he consumes backwards and forwards. Meat lately worthless has a new value in a gold district, and land has become worth tilling, which, however fertile, was, in an agricultural point of view, valueless before for want of a near market.

It is a most favorable feature of the Australian gold-fields that they are within reach of settled communities, surrounded by live beef and mutton, and by land of the best quality, which only needs the hoe and the plough, roughly handled, to produce great crops of wheat, maize, and every green vegetable. The Bathurst district abounds with valleys and up-

lands in which crops never fail. The two gold-fields of Victoria are even more rich in arable land; and the latest-reported discovery round Lake Omeo, in Gipp's Land, will establish farms, under a genial climate, in a land as fertile and romantic as the best districts of Switzerland. These lands will not remain untilled. The correspondent of the *Times*, writing on the 26th of April, observes:—"One of the most satisfactory features about Australian gold-digging is the very general disposition of the successful miners to invest their earnings in real estate. Homesteads are eagerly sought after by the men who have labored for a few months in the rivers and creeks; domestic considerations prevail over the speculative ambition, and, unlike the gambling, roving, Californian, the Australian gold-digger has no sooner filled his pockets than he sets to work to settle his wife comfortably in a cottage with a neat garden, reserving to himself the *ultima ratio* of another visit to the mines, in case his little farming or storekeeping speculation should turn out unsuccessful. Despite the ruinous effects of fifty years' felony, domestic relations and domestic virtues are rapidly growing up among us, and the dreadful remembrances attached to a *populous viro- rum* are fast fading away."

Thanks to the exertions of Captain and Mrs. Chisolm, the principle of family colonization has been introduced among the successful gold-diggers. Large sums are arriving in England by every ship to pay the passage of parents, children, and other relatives of the non-gold-digging class, with the object of es-

tablishing them in little freeholds, gardens, or farms, according to their means.

It is to the Family Colonization that we must look to counteract the gambling spirit produced by gold-digging.

Sir Charles Trevelyan has taken advantage of the distressed condition of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and of the great pastoral proprietors of Australia (with one with too much, with the other with too little labor) to copy part of Mrs. Chisholm's plan of "Family Colonization," and to induce the government commissioners to send, and the squatters of Australia to accept, grandfathers and grandmothers and grand children as make-weights with the able-bodied emigrants; lending them £3 for outfit, to be repaid in the colony.

This measure has tapped a new source, and will supply a useful pastoral Celtic element of colonization as long as it lasts, for Scotland has never had a fair share of the benefits of Australian emigration. We have, therefore, no fear for the ultimate increase and present preservation of the flocks of Australia.\*

\* Sir Charles Trevelyan has published in an expensive, elaborate shape, all his doings in this matter, but has forgotten to acknowledge that the features of his plan for which he takes most credit, that "the people go in entire families—each ship is a colony in itself—from the grandfather and grandmother to the newly born infant, they all go," was first introduced and practiced by Mrs. Chisholm, and much ridiculed at the time by Sir Charles' friends, the squatters. In the *Slains Castle*, which sailed in September, 1850, under Mrs. Chisholm's auspices, there was a grandmother of eighty years of age, who safely reached her destination, and every ship since has contained instances equally remarkable.

We do not share the dark anticipations which have been indulged in by the representatives of the squatting interest; we do not expect that tens of thousands of stock will march masterless into the wilderness, and be utterly destroyed.

But it is probable that very considerable loss will be sustained by the class who have been in the habit of depending on overseers for the care of enormous sheep-runs; on them the chief injury of gold discovery, and consequent high wages and independent laborers, will fail; they will suffer as handloom weavers have suffered from the introduction of steamlooms, as coach proprietors and innkeepers from railways, as farmers on high-rented clay lands from free-trade prices; but the colonies and the parent state will reap inestimable benefits in wealth, in population, in power, in civilization, and the spread of the domestic virtues.

The new and respectable class of emigrants, of moderate means, who will live by the gold-diggers, but not by gold-digging, will, if allowed fair play, be quite numerous enough to keep up the export of wool and tallow without aid from paupers, or convicts, or horrible, heathen Chinese, whom Mr. Gibbon Wakefield proposes to introduce as slaves.

Other prophets of evil have vaticinated an entire disorganization of society, from the influx of rude, barbarous, uneducated men suddenly placed in possession of great wealth, or at enormous wages.

In New South Wales, where a well organized society and police exist, no such evils have been realized;

in Port Phillip the outrages which have occurred have been perpetrated by felons whom our government insists on conveying, free of cost, to Van Diemen's Land, and there setting free.

Whole shiploads of criminals receive a ticket of leave on landing in Van Diemen's Land: as soon as their hair is grown, and they have earned or stolen thirty shillings, they proceed to the gold-fields to compete with, insult, demoralize and plunder the honest men who have paid their own expenses of outfit and voyage, or at any rate have arrived unqualified by crime.

If we persist in a policy so barbarously unjust to honest emigrants and colonists, we must expect the continuance of crime and outrage until such time as the Australians are numerous enough to rise in rebellion, and send us back our governors and convicts in the same ship.

The future connection between Great Britain and her Australian provinces depends on two points—the character of the colonists dispatched from this country, and the character of the legislation of the British Parliament on colonial questions.

Free passages, by raising the price of shipping, are a tax on those willing to pay for themselves.

Family self-paying, self-supporting colonization will form the best social and moral police for the gold-diggers. The time has come, then, for abolishing government emigration. It must be left, like every other great undertaking in England, to the private enterprise of the emigrating classes. All absentee

companies, mixing up land-jobbing and colonization, are a folly or a fraud, or both.

As a counter-attraction to the gold-diggings, let the price of Australian land fifty miles from the respective capitals be reduced to the American price, five shillings an acre.

Then thousands of families who have not more than one or two hundred pounds each will be able to afford to pay their own passages — father and mother, children and grandchildren, who would not emigrate to be servants, but who will gladly go to colonize their own land, and establish “hearths and homes” round Ballarat and Mount Alexander. Pastoral pursuits will always have their fair share of attraction, but the interests of Christian civilization require that as many as possible of the people be attached to the soil. To the successful gold-digger the present price of land is nothing; but we ought to hold out the attraction of freeholds to English families who seek peace and independence, and not to the philosopher’s stone.

The revenue of New South Wales amounted, in 1851, to £476,692, of which £332,452 is derived from general taxation and customs, and £144,240 from sale and rent of land and gold. Out of this sum the colonial legislature, under its reformed shape, has the control of £258,952, and the British treasury the irresponsible expenditure of £217,740, or nearly one-half. The revenue of Victoria amounts to £928,396, of which the British treasury has the expenditure of £747,308; “in other words, the home government undertakes the management of £865,000 of our money,







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